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GREEK AND ROMAN HISTORY



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A SKETCH OF

Greek and Roman History

RIVINGTONS

London	<i>Waterloo Place</i>
Oxford	<i>High Street</i>
Cambridge	<i>Trinity Street</i>

A SKETCH OF
Greek and Roman History

IN FOUR CHAPTERS

BY

A. H. BEESLY

FOR THE USE OF

MARLBOROUGH COLLEGE

RIVINGTONS

London, Oxford, and Cambridge

1872

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P R E F A C E

THE first two Chapters of this Sketch of History were taken down from the author's dictation by a Form at Marlborough College, and are now reprinted from one of the books of the boys. The Fourth Chapter was written in the same way, but while dictating it the author constantly referred to Mr. Congreve's "Roman Empire of the West," instead of telling the story as it occurred to him at the time. The Third Chapter has been compiled almost entirely from Mommsen, and one extract in the Second Chapter is taken from Mr. Seeley's edition of Livy.

Owing to the manner in which most of it was written many mistakes may remain uncorrected. The author will be much obliged to any one who will point out by letter to him, through the Publishers, such as are found.

The sketch is meant to be used, first, by Forms not for the time doing any regular History of Greece or Rome, so as to prevent the gross ignorance of ancient History which

in such cases so often exists among boys; secondly, as an extra subject; thirdly, as a holiday task. It is also believed that it may be found useful as an occasional subject in the highest Forms, being a summary easily read in a few hours.

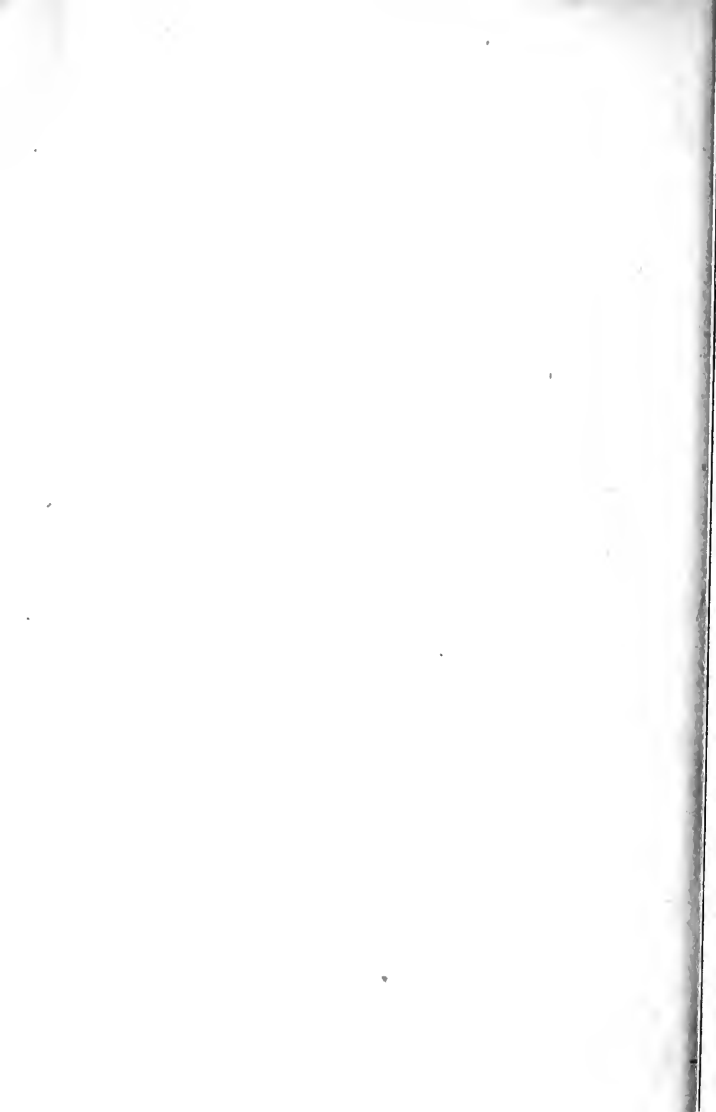
The Author ventures to suggest the following mode of teaching junior Forms. Let questions be read out on a lesson previously learnt, and let the Form answer them on paper. Questions on an hour's lesson will, when the Form has become accustomed to the plan, be answered in twenty or thirty minutes. Collect and re-distribute the papers, and read out the right answers, the boys marking each other's papers. Then illustrate the lesson by any stories which the names or events in it may suggest, or by reading extracts of histories, such as Arnold's account of Trasimene, Grote's of the battles at Syracuse, Mommsen's portraits of the great Roman leaders, &c.

This was the way the Author taught, and the great success of the method, proved by several examinations, induced the Master of the Modern School to ask him to print this sketch.

A. H. B.

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The Plebeians exert Political Equality from the Patricians.

Rome conquers Italy.

300-200.	[Greece.]	P	[Rome.]	Ph	P	H.	O.
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		War with Tarentum and Pyrrhus. { 1st Campaign. Heraclea . { 2nd " Asculum . { 3rd " Beneventum .					Ap. Claudius.
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Reforms of Cleomenes at Sparta.						Plautus.	<i>Other Writers</i> Archimedes (Gk.) (<i>Mechanics</i>).
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First Macedonian War.		Second Punic War. { 1st Period. Ticinus, Trebia, Trasimene, Cannæ . { 2nd " Archimedes at Syracuse. Metastaurus . { 3rd " Zama .				Pacuvius.	Falsus Pictor. Alimentus.

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200-100. (Rome.)
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 E. Ion War.
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Conquest of the World.

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 torial Govt.
 Precursors of
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Ascan War. Cornith taken. Third Punic War. Carthage taken.
 Numidian War.
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 The Gracchi.
 The Jugurthine War.
 The Cimbri and Teutones. Aquæ Sextiæ. Vercellæ.
 Second Servile War.

Pk.	P.	H.	O.
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	Accius.	Varro.	Galba.
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 Failure of Drusus' attempt at Reform.
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 Sulla goes against Mithridates. First Mithridatic War. (Chæronea.
 (Orchomenus).
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 Sulla returns. Battle of Colline Gate. Descriptions. Leges Corneliæ.
 Seneca associated in Spain. Spartacus and the Gladiators. Second Mithridatic War.
 Third Mithridatic War. Lucullus begins, and Pompey (after The Pirate War) ends it.
 The first slave conspiracy.
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 Crassus slain at Carrhæ.
 The Civil War. Ilerda. Dyrrhachium. Pharsalia. Zela. Thapsus. Munda.

Precursors of
 Imperialism.

The Empire.

Assassination of Cesar.

Second Triumvirate. Philippi.
 Antony and Cleopatra. Sextus Pompeius slain. Lepidus shelved. Actium.

Pk.	P.	H.	O.
Cicero.	Lucretius	Catulus Rutilius Rufus. Sulla. Lucullus. Antias. Quadrangarius. Maec. Varro. Cæsar. Hirtius. Oppian. Silius. Dionysius (Gk.) Diodorus (Gk.)	A. Cotta Hortensius. Cicero. Curius multus alii.
	Catullus.		
	Virgil.		
	Horace.		
	Tibullus.	C. Nepos.	
	Propertius. Ovid.	Livy.	

CHAPTER I.

History of Greece.

THERE were four great Asiatic empires. The eldest was the Assyrian; with which is connected the name of Sennacherib. The Babylonian empire was comprised in it. It was broken up by a revolt of the Medes and Babylonians. The capitals were Nineveh and Babylon. The second of the great empires was the Median. It extended to the Tigris and Halys westward, and eastward its limits are unknown. The third was the Lydian, the best known king of which was Cræsus. Contemporary with this empire was the kingdom of Egypt, which for many centuries had been ruled by Pharaohs. These three empires, the Median, the Lydian, and the Egyptian, were all united in one empire, the Persian. Cyrus conquered the Median and Lydian empires, Cambyses the kingdom of Egypt. Cyrus also conquered Babylon, *i.e.* the Chaldæo-Babylonian empire, founded by Nebuchadnezzar, which was an offshoot of the Assyrian empire. Cyrus' conquests were about the middle of the sixth century B.C., and he died B.C. 529. He was succeeded by Cambyses, Cambyses by Darius.

The capitals of their empires were Susa and Ecbatana.

It was Darius who came into collision with the Greeks.

Greek history begins B.C. 776. For the Greeks reckoned by the Olympic festivals, and these were first recorded in B.C. 776. Greece was split up into innumerable small states. Each state had its legends, and heroes, and heroic traditions. For instance, Athens had its heroes, Cecrops and Theseus; Thebes had its Cadmus; Crete had its Minos; and all Greece had its national hero Hercules. There was the legend of the Argonauts, and the legend of the Trojan war, which has been commemorated in the *Iliad*. The only bonds of union among the Greeks were, a common origin, a common religion, common mythology, common oracles, as at Delphi, and, above all, common festivals, such as the Pythian and Isthmian, and those celebrated at Olympia and Nemea.

The Greeks in the earlier times were peculiarly civilized. They had no polygamy, human sacrifices, or mutilation of the person as a punishment, prevalent practices among barbarian nations.

The chief states of Greece were Sparta, Athens, Thebes, Argos, and Corinth. At the time of the Trojan war Argos was the chief state. She was superseded by Sparta. The Persian war placed Athens at the head. She was overthrown by Sparta in the Peloponnesian War, and Sparta was overthrown by Thebes in the time of Epaminondas, but afterwards remained the most powerful single town in Greece, till the Macedonian empire arose. The Macedonian empire and Greece were finally merged in the empire of Rome. The governments of the Greek states were originally monarchies, as at the time of the Trojan war. These monarchies were supplanted by oligarchies generally through Greece. The oligarchies were often superseded by tyrannies, *i.e.* some powerful oligarch made himself master of the others. These tyrannies in their

turn gave birth to democracies, the tyrant by some outrage provoking popular resistance. At the time of the Persian war we find Sparta still under kings, Thebes an oligarchy, Athens a democracy. This shows how utterly isolated and broken up the Greek states were; and makes us wonder at Greece being able to cope with such an empire as that of Persia. The chief reason that Greece was broken up so was the character of its mountains and its shape. It was broken up as Switzerland is broken up now, and the ties which connected it were much the same sort of ties which now connect Switzerland. The history of Greece is the history of the east coast of Greece, just as the history of Italy is the history of the west coast of Italy. This is partly accounted for by the configuration of the coast-line, partly by the fact that in early times the Eastern world was the seat of all great empires and civilization, but during the age of Roman rule the Western world had overshadowed the East. As to the inhabitants of Greece, some say that Greece was peopled from what are called Greek colonies of Asia, others say that these were really colonies of the Greek towns. The Greek colonies spread all along the west coast of Asia Minor and the coasts of Sicily and Italy. The coast of Asia Minor was split up into three groups, the Æolian colonies northernmost, the Ionian in the centre, the Dorian southernmost.

In Greece proper the chief Ionian state was Athens, the chief Dorian state was Sparta. The great lawgiver of Sparta was Lycurgus. By victories over the Messenians and Argives Sparta acquired the headship of the Peloponnesus, and when the Persian war broke out was the chief state of Greece. The rural inhabitants of Laconia were called Perioeci, the slaves were called Helots. The Spartans

themselves were the descendants of conquering Dorian immigrants. The Pericæci were the descendants of the race those immigrants conquered. Living like a garrison in a conquered country, the Spartans maintained a strict military organization, which was systematized by Lysurgus, and it was their stern and hardy mode of life which made them the best soldiers of Greece. The same reasons, however, made them narrow-minded, bigoted, and uncultivated.

The Spartan government consisted of two kings, a popular assembly with little power, five Ephors (who were originally much what the Tribunes were at Rome, the elected champions of the people, but in the end held all political power in their hands), and the Gerousia or Council of Thirty, including the two kings, which was the only check on the power of the Ephors. Practically the government was a close oligarchy, and the five Ephors, who were of later date than Lysurgus, were its irresponsible chiefs. The sole object of the Spartan system was to produce the best possible soldier. The youths were kept in perpetual training for this object, and every male was obliged to share the hard diet of the Syssitia or public mess, one of the principal dishes of which was black broth.

The Athenian lawgivers were Draco, Solon, and Clisthenes. Draco's code was found too severe. Solon was the aristocratic or plutocratic lawgiver. His constitution was overthrown by Pisistratus. Clisthenes was the democratic lawgiver who expelled the tyrant Hippias, son of Pisistratus. The oldest division of the Athenians had been the fourfold one common to the other members of the Ionic race,—husbandmen, warriors, herdsmen, artisans. Each tribe contained three phratricæ, each phratry thirty gentes, each gens thirty heads of families.

After the abolition of royalty the government was in the hands of Archons, first elected for life, afterwards for ten years, and at last annually. One was Polemarch or commander-in-chief, another Archon Basileus, corresponding to the Rex Sacrificulus at Rome, a third, Archon Eponymus, because he gave his name to his year of office. The other six were called Thesmothetæ. Draco's code (624 B.C.) punished all crimes alike with death. Solon (594 B.C.) classified the people afresh into Pentacosio-medimni, or those worth 500 medimni per annum; Hippeis, worth between 300 and 500, and therefore able to equip a war-horse; Zeugitæ, worth between 200 and 300, and therefore able to keep a yoke of oxen; and Thetes, worth below 200. He enlarged the power of the Areopagus, the representative of the council of chiefs in the heroic age. He also enlarged the power of the popular assembly, and gave the poorer classes a vote in it.

Cleisthenes (510 B.C.) abolished the four old tribes, and enrolled all inhabitants of Attica in ten new ones, transferred the government from the archons to the senate and assembly, increased the judicial and political power of the people, and introduced ostracism, by which any one might be banished, (if 6,000 votes were recorded on oyster shells for the measure,) without trial, accusation, or defence, for ten years. The reforms of Cleisthenes gave the people a personal interest in the government, and were the chief source of the glory of Athens.

The Athenians were the most cultivated, eloquent, poetical, enterprising people in Greece. The brightest pages of Greek history are those in which Athens is the central figure.

Some of the Ionian colonies in Asia Minor had revolted against Darius. Athens sent some ships to help the

rebels, and burnt Sardis. Darius sent an expedition to punish the Athenians, but it was wrecked off Mount Athos. He sent another expedition under Datis and Artaphernes, which the Athenians defeated at Marathon, 490 B.C. The Athenian general was Miltiades. It would be something of a parallel if you could suppose the Emperor of Germany to have attacked Marlborough and been defeated by the town.

The Persians had hitherto been thought invincible, but the gallantry of Athens lighted up a flame through the whole of Greece, and when Xerxes, ten years afterwards, marched in person to revenge the defeat of Marathon, at the head of the most enormous army ever known in history (it was said to consist of 5,200,000 men), he and all his army were withstood at Thermopylæ by 7,000 men, of whom only 300 were Spartans, under Leonidas, and though he forced the pass and marched upon Athens and sacked it, the Greek fleet annihilated his fleet at Salamis, and Xerxes fled in dismay back to Persia. He left Mardonius behind him, with the comparatively small force of 400,000 men.

Mardonius was defeated by the united Greeks under the Spartan king Pausanias at Platea, 479 B.C., and on the same day the Persian fleet was defeated and destroyed at Mycale near Miletus, by Leotychides, the Spartan admiral. So ended the Persian invasion of Greece, and from that day until this civilization and human progress have found their development in the Western world. The sceptre had passed from the East to the West.

The greatest of the Greeks in the Persian war was Themistocles, the Athenian. He was probably one of the ablest men who ever lived. The Athenians rebuilt Athens, and henceforth it was the object of Themistocles

to make his city the chief power in Greece. After Themistocles, the greatest Athenian statesman was Pericles, and at the outbreak of the Peloponnesian war, 431 B.C., these two statesmen had succeeded in their efforts, Athens was no longer a single state. She was the mistress of a vast naval empire. On the pretext of keeping up a fleet against the Persians, she had obtained from the principal islands of the *Ægean* Sea at first ships, and then money instead of ships, and as all danger from the Persians died away, and her tributaries refused to pay their tribute, she reduced them one by one into subjects, and employed their tribute in beautifying Athens. She also sent out colonists to Thrace and Eubœa, and made alliances with many of the continental states in Greece. Thus in material strength she completely overshadowed Sparta. Intellectually and morally her influence was far greater. Intellectually the glory of having conquered the Persians was hers, inspiring her poets and her historians, and the magnificent buildings which were raised at Athens by the genius of Phidias and the munificence of Pericles, made the city what Milton describes it, "the eye of Greece." She occupied not only the leading political position in Greece, but in one century produced a more brilliant constellation of authors than has ever existed in any one country in any one century before or since.

Her great historian was Thucydides.

Her three great tragic poets were *Æschylus*, *Sophocles*, and *Euripides*. Her great comic poet was *Aristophanes*.

Her great philosophers were *Socrates* and *Plato*, and in the next century *Aristotle*; and besides these she produced many other writers of the highest excellence, and such specimens of Athenian art as have survived to this day are still regarded as the most perfect models. We may

picture to ourselves her unparalleled development by a glance at her condition during the lifetime of her great statesman.

When Pericles was in his boyhood Athens was a pile of ruins. He had been born before the battle of Marathon, though curiously enough the exact date of his birth is nowhere mentioned, and the ten years of anxious suspense which preceded Salamis must have been an excellent school for the future practical statesman. During his lifetime the material and political splendour of his native city was developed, and carried to its highest point with a precocity which was only equalled by its perfection, and which is without parallel in the history of the world, and when he died there was already brooding over it the shadow of its approaching doom. As Pericles advanced to manhood the power of Athens ascended to its meridian, and with his declining years it declined. The period during which Athenian affairs were swayed by his influence began about 460 B.C., and ended in 430. Any stranger resident at Athens during that period must have been vividly impressed by the splendour of its buildings, the intellectual pre-eminence of its great men, the speculative tone of its society, its vast commerce, its luxury, its refinement, the magnitude of its political undertakings, the unanimity of its public action, the unflinching fortitude with which it endured reverses, and the intense self-reliance with which it always awaited ultimate success. Every other man he met in the street would have seen Miltiades, the conqueror at Marathon, Aristides the Just, and one of the greatest political geniuses of that or any other age, Themistocles. He might have been a guest at one of Cimon's magnificent banquets, and watched him sail from the Piræus on the voyage from which he was

destined never to return. He might have conversed with Herodotus, Xenophon, and Thucydides, and attended the first representation of the Oresteia. Or if he wished to trace the modification of the drama, he might have chosen between a tragedy of Sophocles and Euripides. He might have seen Aristophanes, and laughed at the comedies of Cratinus. He might have admired Alcibiades' accomplishments and beauty, have listened to the speculations of Anaxagoras, and the wisdom of Socrates, and have stood spellbound by the divine majesty of the creations of Phidias. And he would have seen too how worthy of such citizens was the city which contained them. Environed by mountains north and east and west, on the south Athens fronted the sea. From the ports Phalerum and Piræus ran three long walls past the hill Museum up to the city proper built round the Acropolis. On the west flowed the river Cephissus, on the east the Ilissus. The streets of the city proper were indeed merely long lines of one-storey houses, with walls in which there were no windows, facing the streets. These walls were of sun-baked bricks, or wood daubed over with plaster. But all sense of the squalor of private houses must have been dissipated at once as the eye rested on the Acropolis, crowned with statues, temples, and porticoes, the very perfection of the sculptor's art. There stood the Erechtheum, the Propylæa, and the Odeum, and through the Propylæa towered high above all the rest the Parthenon, with its great chryselephantine statue of Athena Promachos. On the east was the Olympieum, and on the west the Painted Stoa, the Theseum, and outside the wall adjoining the inner Ceramicus the outer Ceramicus or cemetery of those slain in battle. Such was the general outline which Athens presented, but there were other

innumerable public buildings, and as many of them were built of white marble, the whole scene lit up by the dazzling rays of a Southern sun must have been one of unrivalled beauty. But what makes this profusion of taste and wealth the more astonishing is that most of these buildings were erected when the state was constantly equipping the most imposing fleets and engaging in the most costly wars.

In 457 there were the battles in the Megarid, the great battle of Tanagra, and the contemporaneous conquest of Ægina. In 456 there was the battle of Ænophyta, and in 455 the disaster in Egypt. Yet it was in this year that Tolmides burnt the Lacedæmonian arsenal of Gythium. In 454 Pericles conducted a campaign in Sicily and Acarnania. In 449 the Athenians sent a second armada of 200 vessels (the same number as before), to the aid of Amyrtæus in Egypt, and gained a victory at Salamis in Cyprus over the Phœnician and Cilician fleets. In 447 they sustained a defeat at Coronea. In 432 they assisted Corcyra against Corinth, and in 431 the Peloponnesian war broke out. Meanwhile they had been founding colonies on all sides, and yet at the outset of the great war they had nearly a million and a half of coined money in their treasury. Such were the results of the supremacy of Pericles.

In a few short years Athens had suddenly leaped into the leading position in Greece. She had become the rival and more than the rival of Sparta. A short war broke out between the two states, which was concluded by a truce 445 B.C., but the truce was merely a mockery, and in 431 B.C. the Peloponnesian war broke out in which the whole of Greece was ranged either on the side of Athens or of Sparta. In this war the four great Spartan generals

were Brasidas, Gylippus, Callicratidas, and Lysander. The leading Athenians were, after the death of Pericles, as a politician, Cleon, and as commanders Demosthenes (not the orator), Alcibiades, Nicias, and Conon. The war was conducted with varying success (and with such episodes as the capture of Plataea, after a heroic defence, by Sparta; the capture of Sphacteria by Athens, which put in their hands the flower of the first Spartan families; and the battle of Delium in Bœotia, which preluded the overthrow of the Athenian empire in Thrace) till the year 415 B.C., but on the whole Athens had the advantage till then, when, in an evil hour, she was induced to send an immense fleet to attempt the conquest of Sicily. Her first fleet was destroyed there. She sent out two more. Alcibiades turned traitor, and the Spartans sent Gylippus to help Syracuse. In the harbour of Syracuse, quite landlocked, with spectators thronging every vantage-spot on the shore, cheering their own side's success, or groaning at its reverses, was fought the most stirring, dramatic battle of ancient or perhaps all history. The Syracusans fought for freedom, the Athenians for their naval renown, and for their own existence as a great power. They were beaten. Nicias and Demosthenes, after a gallant attempt to retreat across Sicily, were taken and killed. Athens made superhuman efforts to recover her position, but in 405 B.C. Lysander captured their fleet in the Hellespont at Ægospotami, and next year took Athens. Sparta was then left head of Greece, and filled the principal states with her own officials, called harmosts. An oligarchy, called the Thirty Tyrants, formed the government of Athens. The Athenian oligarchy, however, was overturned by Thrasybulus, the democracy was restored, and the Athenians partly recovered their naval strength and

rebuilt their long walls. Almost at the same time that Athens regained freedom Dionysius became Tyrant of Syracuse. Neither his gilded tyranny, nor his son's feebler vices, nor that coquetry between philosophy and despotism which amused the contemporaries of Plato, as in the last century it amused the contemporaries of Voltaire, would need notice here, but that they are connected with the name of Timoleon, the Greek Washington, and the purest character in Greek history, who did for Syracuse what Thrasybulus did for Athens, expelling the younger Dionysius and restoring the republic.

Thirty years after the close of the Peloponnesian War Thebes embarked on a brief career of glory, and from 371 to 361 was the leading power in Greece. In two great battles, Leuctra and Mantinea, her two illustrious leaders, Epaminondas and Pelopidas, overthrew the Spartans. The date of Mantinea is 362 B.C. Meanwhile a new power was slowly rising in Greece, that of Macedon. In 359 B.C., that is to say three years after Mantinea, Philip ascended the throne of Macedon. Twenty years later he conquered Athens and Thebes at the battle of Chœronea, and at his death Macedon was predominant in Greece. He was succeeded by Alexander the Great, who, when the Thebans revolted from him, razed the town to the ground.

When Alexander came to the throne it was about 150 years since the Persians had invaded Greece, and now the Greeks were to retaliate on the Persians. Just at the close of the Peloponnesian War the expedition which Xenophon has described in his *Anabasis* took place, and it clearly showed the weakness of the Persian monarchy. That monarchy, which had been established by Cyrus, enlarged by Cambyses, and had been at the height of its

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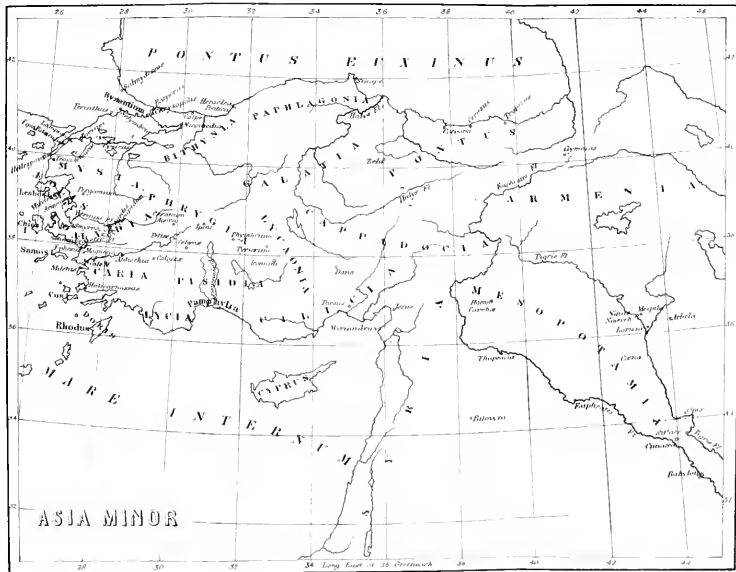
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splendour under Darius, was now represented by another Darius.

In three wonderful battles, the Granicus in the north-west of Asia Minor, Issus in the south-east, Arbela on the east of the Euphrates, Alexander annihilated the power of Persia. He took Darius prisoner, marched to the confines of India, and died at Babylon. At his death his generals divided his empire. On the news of it Athens at once revolted from Macedon, and partly in consequence of the patriotic exertions of the great orator Demosthenes, was joined by most of the other small states of Greece, only Sparta, Arcadia, and Achaia standing aloof. The allies were crushed by Antipater at Crannon, and the Athenians have never since then occupied a position of any importance as a military power.

From that time till the Romans interfered with Greece there were four centres of influence in the country—

1st. Macedon and the dependants of Macedon.

2nd. Sparta, more or less independent, but insignificant.

3rd. A power which sprung up about 251 B.C., the Achæan League, a confederacy of the principal towns in the north of the Peloponnesus.

4th. The Ætolian League, a confederacy of the semi-barbarian towns in Ætolia and the adjacent sections of North Greece.

During the century which followed Alexander's death there is a sort of lull in history. Events stirring enough to contemporaries are dwarfed in our eyes by comparison with the preceding and the following age. No splendid figure either of nation or individual arrests the imagination till, in the great duel between the maritime and the continental republic, Hannibal's genius was pitted against the rising strength of Rome. It will be sufficient for

our purpose to note a few important facts and a few memorable names. The rivalries of Alexander's generals and their sons, inspiring the Greeks with futile dreams of freedom, inflicted on them nothing but a series of wars and a succession of masters. The character of all these changes was the same. The spell of Alexander's genius continued to influence the world after his death. Nothing less than universal sovereignty could satisfy the men who had become familiarized with his far-stretching schemes and gorgeous visions of conquest. Perdiceas, Antigonus, Cassander, Seleucus, Lysimachus, Ptolemy, all dreamed the same dream. But when one became too powerful it was the signal for the others to league against him. We read of repeated partitions of the world, of coalition after coalition, of the exploits of mere soldiers, such as Demetrius Poliorcetes and Pyrrhus, of the defeat and death of the ambitious Antigonus at Ipsus (301 B.C.), of the main strength of Alexander's empire being reunited under Seleucus, one of Alexander's generals, who defeated Lysimachus at Corupedion (B.C. 281); of Seleucus being assassinated by Ptolemy Ceraunus, king of Egypt; and finally we find three kingdoms risen on the ruins of the Alexandrian empire,—the kingdom of Macedon under the Antigonids, the kingdom of Egypt under the Ptolemies, and the kingdom of Syria under the Seleucids.

Two names illustrate this less dazzling period of Greek history,—Aratus, the founder of the Achaean League, and Philopoemen, its subsequent strategus, whom Plutarch calls "the last of the Greeks." After freeing his native town Sicyon from tyrants, Aratus conceived the noble and statesmanlike project of a federation of Greek states. The success which he actually achieved betokened what under more favourable circumstances he would have accom-

plished. Aratus was the strangest mixture of cowardice and courage, wisdom and folly, patriotism and egotism, to be found in history. He never fought a battle without losing it, and losing it by his own personal cowardice. He never lost a battle but he instantly retrieved it by some stratagem brilliantly conceived and brilliantly executed by himself in person. He spent his whole life in adding to the power of the League, and when he died he had seen it become, if he had not himself made it, the servile dependent of Macedon. It had to cope at one time with the freebooting Ætolians, at another with the intrigues of Macedon, at another with the narrow selfishness of Sparta. Finally, it could only boast the melancholy honour of being the last independent Greek power which was robbed of its liberties by Rome.

CHAPTER II.

Political History of Rome.

THE early history of Rome is legendary. The kings of Rome are mythical kings, and all we can say of most of the story of their reigns is that much is certainly false and much possibly true. The kings of Rome in order were Romulus, Numa Pompilius (who is said to have systematized the religion of Rome), Tullus Hostilius, Ancus Marcius, Tarquinius Priscus, Servius Tullius (said to be the author of the Roman constitution), and Tarquinius Superbus. The facts, undiluted with legend, which have been sifted from the accounts we possess of the regal period, are as follows: a number of clans (descendants of that Indo-Germanic people which, emigrating from the East westwards, at some unknown time, and separating at some unknown point, had branched off into the two peninsulas of Italy and Greece) bearing names, afterwards the names of the great patrician houses at Rome, lived in adjacent districts, and were divided into three great tribes. Round common places of worship towns sprang up and became the resort of the clans for markets, festivals, and consultations. These clans possessed various priesthoods and religious privileges which they kept to themselves, though one Sabine clan—the Claudian—is said to have been admitted to their body.

They had a king who ruled for life and a council of chiefs who aided him with advice. He was the president in the senate, the commander of the army, the officiating priest in certain sacrifices, appointed two law officers called Quæstors, and was probably supreme in religious as well as civil matters. There was a general assembly of the clans called *comitia curiata*, where family questions, such as adoption out of one clan into another, were discussed. There was a religious ritual, very complicated but very dear to the clans. The family and gens also had their own proper rites, and there were private religious guilds sometimes connected with special clans. There was no organized priesthood, though there were some highly venerated priests, and a priest was not necessary to a sacrifice. There were three guilds of persons skilled in theology; the Pontiffs, the Augurs, and the Fetiales. The army consisted chiefly of cavalry, chosen in equal numbers from the three tribes. A great revolution occurred in this primitive constitution. A large population having sprung up round the clans, an army was formed out of the whole community, each citizen being ranked, as in Solon's constitution, according to his property, and bound to provide corresponding arms. This army consisted mainly of infantry, arranged in phalanx, and was regarded as a national assembly. When the will of the nation had to be expressed a single vote was given each century in the army. In order to make the property-register a new local classification was required. Four local city tribes were established.¹

At some time, and possibly at this time, the outside population was admitted into the three clans, the three tribes, and the *comitia curiata*; but the old clans con-

¹ I have taken this and part of page 16 from Mr. Seeley's "*Livy*."

tinued to consider themselves the true ones. A magnificent national temple was built on the Capitoline Hill ; a foreign book—"The Sibylline"—was introduced, which imported a Greek element into the country ; and finally, a political revolution occurred, and the king for life was superseded by two annual magistrates.

After the kings the government of Rome was an aristocracy, which was gradually modified by the great democratic leaders till the time of Julius Cæsar, when the aristocratic republic became a democratic empire.

Roman history may be classified in two divisions, political and constitutional. By political history is meant the history of its relation with other nations. By constitutional history is meant the history of its changes in constitution. Its social history falls partly under its political, but principally under its constitutional history. By social history is meant the history of the relations of class to class.

Three attempts were made to restore Tarquinius Superbus, who had been banished in consequence of his own and his son's excesses. With the first attempt is connected the story of the execution of the sons of Brutus, with the second the stories of Lars Porsena, of Horatius who kept the bridge, of Clælia, who swam the Tiber, of Scævola and the burning of his hand. These are legends, how far true, how far false, no one knows. What seems certain is that Porsena completely conquered Rome, but that for some reason or other Tarquin was not restored, and that the third attempt at his restoration, made at the battle of Lake Regillus (490 B.C.) by the thirty Latin cities, also failed. With Regillus is connected another legend, that of "the Great Twin Brethren." The conquest of Rome by Porsena was only temporary in its

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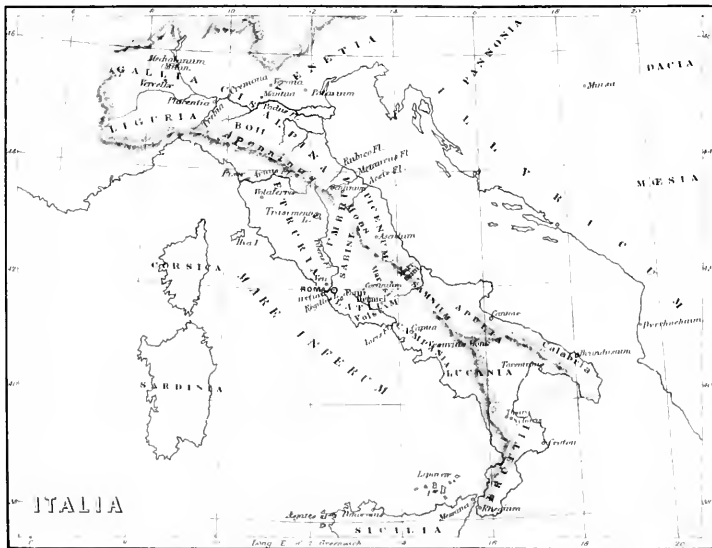
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effects. The new republic soon entered upon its career of conquests. North-west of Rome were the Etruscans; north-east of Rome the Sabines; south of Rome the Latins; south of the Latins the Volscians; south-east of the Sabines the Æquians. *First Rome entered upon the conquest of her neighbours.* She could hardly have done this but for the measure of one Spurius Cassius, who formed a league between the Latins, the Hernicans and Rome. This was the germ of the "Latinum Nomen." These early conquests have their respective legends, that of the Volscians and Coriolanus, of the Æquians and Cincinnatus, of Veii and Camillus. The Volscians and Æquians were conquered during the first half of the fifth, Veii at the beginning of the fourth century, just after the close of the Peloponnesian War and the Anabasis.

And now east and west and south Rome had triumphed over her neighbours, when for a second time in her history a wave of foreign invasion passed over her. The Gauls sacked Rome. Another well-known legend comes in here, that of Camillus and Brennus. The Gauls were bought off, and *Rome entered upon the conquest of Italy.* It occupied her a century, from the middle of the fourth century to the middle of the third, from 360 to 260 B.C. Her most obstinate enemies were the Samnites. Three separate wars were fought between them; the first was hastily concluded by the Romans making peace with the Samnites. She did this in consequence of a most formidable league of the Latin cities against her. This league was broken up in the great battle of Mount Vesuvius, where the Romans gained a victory under Manlius Torquatus and Decius Mus. Then the Romans turned their attention again to the Samnites, and the second great Samnite war broke out. The Roman heroes of the war

were Fabius Maximus, and Papirius Cursor, the Samnite hero Caius Pontius. He inflicted on the Romans a disaster, always afterwards a household word among them, that of the Caudine Forks, and for some years it seemed as if the Samnites, not the Romans, were to be masters of Italy. However they in the end sued for peace, and so the second war ended. Meanwhile the Etruscans had attacked Rome, and had also been defeated, and now Rome had to put down a revolt of the Æquians and Volscians. Her system of conquest was to plant colonies of her own citizens in the conquered country, which were garrisons as it were for Rome.

Scarcely was she successful in this revolt when the third Samnite war broke out, but this time Rome was in league with the smaller nations of central Italy, the Marsi, the Marrucini, the Peligni, and others. It marked the tenacity of her grasp of what she had once won. The Etruscans, Umbrians, and Gauls, joined the Samnites in this third war; but at the battle of Sentinum the confederates were defeated by Fabius Maximus and another Decius Mus, and the second great Samnite General Gellius Egnatius was slain. Soon afterwards Caius Pontius was taken and, to the eternal shame of the Romans, executed at Rome. It had taken about half a century to subdue the Samnites, and Rome steadily advancing southwards came in collision with the Lucanians and the Greek colonies on the Italian coast. The chief of these was Tarentum. Tarentum called in Pyrrhus, King of Epirus. In two great battles he defeated the Romans, but in the third he was entirely routed and returned to Greece. Rome was mistress of Italy.

At this time Italy was divided into three classes. First, *Cives Romani*, *i.e.* the citizens belonging to the

thirty-three tribes, to their colonies in Italy, and to enfranchised municipal towns; secondly, *Nomen Latinum*, those colonies which were on the same footing as the Latin cities had been; thirdly, *Socii*, or dependent allies.

Rome entered upon her conquest of the world. And here it may be remarked that the universal dominion of Rome was no deliberate plan formed by one far-seeing mind, but was forced by circumstances on a somewhat narrow-minded assembly of a commonwealth keenly alive to its own interest, and fearful lest the kernel of the empire should be crushed by the shell. A blind dread of Carthage, a blinder enthusiasm for Hellenic liberty, was long the mainspring of Rome's action rather than lust of conquest; and she was driven to her wars with Hannibal and Antiochus no less than to those with Philip and Persens. First, then, she conquered Carthage. The first Punic War broke out about 260 B.C.; the second Punic War ended 201 B.C. Carthage was entirely overthrown and conquered at the end of the second Punic War. The scene of the first Punic War was Sicily and Africa. It was principally naval. The first naval victory was won by Duilius. Regulus was the chief Roman, Hamilcar Barca the chief Carthaginian general. Between the first and second Punic wars, the Romans gained a footing in Greece, conquering Teuta, Queen of Illyricum, and in the north of Italy they conquered the Gauls. The second Punic War broke out 218 B.C. The scene of the first period of it was Italy. Hannibal crossed the Alps, defeated Scipio (not the great Scipio) at the Ticinus, Sempronius at the Trebia, Flaminius at Trasimene, and Varro at Cannæ in Apulia. In the second period of the war Hannibal conquered Tarentum, marched on Rome, and hoped to form a junction with his brother,

Hasdrubal. But, by a marvellous march, the Consul Nero, who was confronting Hannibal, joined his colleague Livius, who was confronting Hasdrubal, the distance he went being 250 miles in one week, and in the great battle of Metaurus, the Carthaginian army was annihilated, and Hasdrubal slain.

Hannibal returned to Carthage. Then the Romans sent the great Scipio to meet Hannibal on his own ground, and the result was the battle of Zama, 202 B.C., and the capture of Carthage.

Philip V. of Macedon had helped Carthage at Zama; Rome had allied herself with his enemy, the Ætolian League, in pursuance of her immemorial policy. Now that she had got Carthage off her hands she turned to Philip. In three campaigns she conquered Macedon. The final battle was fought at Cynoscephalæ, 197 B.C. Flaminius was the consul, and at the ensuing Isthmian games he proclaimed the freedom of all the Greeks. The Ætolians were discontented with Rome, and called in the King of Syria. The dream of the giant Alexander was still potent over the imagination of the dwarf Antiochus, who had little else in common with him except the name of "Great." He too, after mastering the East, was preparing to overwhelm the West, and renew that long duel which was now to be fought for the last time in Ancient History.

At this time Hannibal was expelled from Carthage, fled to Antiochus, and urged him to give him an army to lead into Italy. But Antiochus refused, marched into Greece, and was defeated at Thermopylæ by the Consul Glabrio. Next year the Romans pursued him into Asia, and Scipio Africanus accompanied his brother, who was in command of the Roman army, and who at the battle of Magnesia,

B.C. 190, won the name of Asiaticus. The Romans then crushed the Ætolians. During the next thirty years they were engaged in wars with the Gauls, with the Ligurians, with the Spaniards (Spain was split into two provinces severed by the Ebro), with the Istrians at the head of the Adriatic Gulf, and with the Sardinians and Corsicans. (Sardi-Venales.) She was everywhere triumphant. The Macedonians could not brook the Roman rule, and their king Perseus engaged in what is called the third Macedonian war, which was concluded by Æmilius Paullus at the battle of Pydna, 168 B.C. Macedon was cut up into four districts. The Achæan League soon after attacked Sparta, and Sparta called in Rome. Mummius captured Corinth, 146 B.C., and South Greece was made a Roman province under the name of Achaia. In the same year, 146, the younger Scipio Africanus captured Carthage, thus putting an end to the third Punic War. It was in this war that Cato made his series of speeches ending "De-lenda est Carthago." This younger Scipio was the son of Æmilius Paullus, and the adopted son of the son of the Great Africanus. Africa was then made a province. The next twenty years were taken up in quelling a gallant insurrection in Spain, the hero of which was Viriathus, and during the last year also in quelling what is called the first Servile War, by which must be understood the insurrection of slaves in Sicily. And thus we see that, while Rome was mapping out the world into provinces, the seeds of her weakness were already growing apace.

The last twenty years of the second century B.C. are connected with the names Jugurtha, the Cimbri, the Teutones, and the second Servile War. How Jugurtha murdered his brother and bribed all the leading men in Rome, how the Romans were at last shamed into punish-

ing him, how Metellus conquered him, how Marius completed Metellus' conquests and quarrelled with Metellus, and in his turn found a rival in Sulla, every reader of Sallust knows. The fame of Marius really rests on his overthrow of the Cimbri and Teutones in two great battles at Aquæ Sextiæ and Vercellæ. Tryphon and Athenio were the leaders in the second Servile War.

It will be well now to take a glance at the Roman world. Sicily was a province. Sardinia and Corsica were another. Spain beyond the Ebro was a third. Spain east of the Ebro a fourth. South-Alpine Gaul was a fifth. Macedon was a sixth. Illyricum a seventh. Achaia or South Greece an eighth. Africa a ninth. Asia a tenth. North-Alpine Gaul an eleventh. In other words, half Europe, and portions of two other parts of the world, were subject to one town half the size of London. In that town the principal men were enormously rich, gorged with the spoil of the provinces. To minister to their luxury enormous gangs of slaves were kept throughout Italy, and in Rome itself vast swarms of clients depended for their daily bread on some magnificent patron, and thus, as the Slave War showed, there was misery in the provinces, and in Rome a population consisting half of dissolute nobles, half of spiritless lazzaroni. In Italy, too, the deep discontent so long smouldering was soon to break out into that great conflagration called the Social War, the story of which will be told in the chapter on the Constitutional History of Rome. Everything pointed to a coming monarchy, and accordingly this century was but one long rivalry between a few great men. By his victories Marius had become the leading citizen at Rome. He was the chief of the democratic party. Sulla was the chief of the aristocratic party. After overcoming the

Marian party, Sulla attempted to revive the old aristocratic form of government. For five years he was dictator and supreme at Rome, then abdicated, and died the following year. On his death Pompey the Great stepped into the first place at Rome, and just as the aristocratic Sulla had had a democratic rival in Marius, so Pompey, the champion of the aristocracy, met a rival in Julius Cæsar, the representative of the Marian party. This time democracy triumphed, not aristocracy. Cæsar, after conquering Gaul in eight campaigns, crossed the Rubicon, and marched into Italy, and Pompey fled into Greece. Previous to this, what was called the first Triumvirate had been formed by Pompey, Cæsar and Crassus; and Pompey in the war against Mithridates, King of Pontus, and in his command against the pirates of the Mediterranean, had enjoyed regal power. All things, as we said, pointed towards a coming monarchy. Fortune or genius would decide which of the triumvirs was to be king. Crassus was killed at Carrhæ, and now Pompey was in full flight before Cæsar. The struggle was decided at Pharsalia, B.C. 48. Pompey fled to Egypt, and was killed there. His partizans were defeated, first at Thapsus in Africa, then at Munda in Spain, and Julius Cæsar, the greatest man of all ancient history, remained sovereign of the whole civilized world. The next year Brutus assassinated him as he was in the midst of plans of a vast and magnificent nature, and the Roman world, which never could find a more humane master, was again convulsed with civil wars, Antony, Cæsar's general, and Octavius, Cæsar's grand-nephew, being opposed to Brutus and Cassius, whom they conquered at Philippi, B.C. 43.

It was at this time that the second Triumvirate existed, formed by Antony, Octavius and Lepidus. Then, for a

short time, there was a repetition of the previous state of affairs. Just as Pompey and Cæsar had really divided the world between them, while Crassus was their nominal equal, so for a short space Antony divided the world with Octavius, and Lepidus was their nominal equal. Lepidus they soon set aside, and then quarrelled themselves.

Antony disgusted the Romans by his connection with Cleopatra, and he and she were defeated by Octavius at Actium, on the north-west coast of Greece, 31 B.C. Octavius was master of the Roman world; in other words, the nephew completed what the uncle began, and Octavius became Augustus, never nominally more than a private citizen, practically first of the line of Emperors.

CHAPTER III.

Constitutional History of Rome.

IT has been mentioned above what residuum of fact we can sift from the legends of early Roman History. Taking that result as our starting-point, we can divide the Constitutional History of the Republic into two periods. The first is chiefly confined to Rome the town, when the plebeians fought for and achieved equality with the patricians. The second belongs to Rome the metropolis, the centre of a vast and growing provincial system. By plebeians we mean the descendants of the bondsmen or semi-bondsmen of the Patres or original founders of the commonwealth. When a town was conquered, the inhabitants were sometimes not sold as slaves, but left *de facto* free, standing in the relation of clients to the state. Gradually, as we shall see, they outgrew their fetters, and comprehended many men of note and wealth, who yet had no political privileges.

The expulsion of the kings was an aristocratic revolution against a tyrant. But though the king was abolished the kingly power was not. The life-king was replaced by two annual kings called consuls, and a temporary king (interrex) was appointed when a vacancy occurred. Supreme power confronted supreme power, each consul

being independent—the commands of the one neutralizing the commands of the other. The consul could only be dismissed even at the end of the year by his own act, though in practice only once or twice did any one venture to retain his office beyond a year. But after his year of office he was liable to prosecution, and here lay the chief difference between his and regal power. Again, the Valerian law, B.C. 509, enacted that the consul must allow the appeals of condemned persons where sentence of capital or corporal punishment had been pronounced otherwise than by martial law; and when the consul appeared as judge his lictors laid aside their axes. Again, though as commander-in-chief he could delegate his functions, he was compelled to perform certain of his civic functions himself, nor could he nominate his successor absolutely as the king had done, but only nominate the person whom the community designated, much as a dean and chapter can only elect to a bishopric a person designated by the Crown. Lastly, he was deprived of the regal prerogative of nominating priests, which was now vested in the colleges of priests themselves, and a president of the college of pontifices was probably now appointed for the first time under the name of Pontifex Maximus. This separation of the supreme religious from the supreme civil power, and the semi-magisterial power of the new high-priest, form one of the most significant peculiarities of a revolution the aim of which was to limit the power of the magistrates mainly in the interests of the aristocracy. It was a type of the change from a tyranny to what we may almost call a constitutional monarchy, that the consul could no longer wear the king's purple robe or ride in the royal chariot, but had only a purple border to his toga, and was bound to go on foot. In emergencies, however, the regal power was revived in

its entirety in the person of the dictator, whose authority only differed from the king's in its limitation to six months. On the whole, therefore, the consuls, with certain limitations, continued to be, as the kings had been, the supreme administrators, judges, and generals, and even in religious matters they offered prayers and sacrifices for the community.

Now that the president of the community was reduced from its master to its commissioner for a set term, who must be annually elected, an extension of the community was inevitable. The strength of the nation lay in the plebs, who could tolerate exclusion from the public assembly only as long as not that assembly but the kings regulated the working of the machinery of the state. So now the centuries (that division of the community according to wealth, for military purposes, ascribed to Servius Tullius) received the rights as they had previously borne the burdens of citizens, and the comitia curiata (the assembly of the old families) were deprived of almost all their constitutional prerogatives, though the decrees of the centuries were still submitted for their sanction, as a bill passed by the House of Commons is sent up to the House of Lords. Only in cases of appeal, and perhaps declaration of war, the centuries gave a final decision. Had those who were admitted to the community been admitted to the comitia curiata, the latter retaining the power of deciding political questions, the government would have become a complete democracy. As it was, the comitia centuriata placed the preponderating influence in the hands of the propertied classes, not of the nobles. The position of the senate remained unaltered. It still remained the advising council of the consul as it had been that of the king. But so many of the plebeians were now admitted

that the senators were henceforth addressed as *patres et conscripti*, i.e. the old and the enrolled members. The conservative character of these changes is apparent. The plebeians had gained substantially. Their lives and backs were now as secure as those of the noblest of the *patres*. On the other hand, they were still excluded from all public magistracies and priesthoods, though eligible as officers and senators; nor were they allowed to intermarry with the *patres*. Hence arose the struggles of the next two centuries.

The *patres*, on the other hand, had also substantially gained. The king was above them as well as the plebs, and might court the plebs to coerce them. The consul was one of themselves, and the right of rejecting the measures of the *comitia centuriata* legally neutralized the free action of the latter. The senate, in which they formed the majority, was elected for life, and the annual consul naturally became its chairman and executor of its decrees. Even if the plebeian minority disapproved of a measure it was excluded from all magistracies, and therefore powerless, and moreover in pecuniary dependence on the aristocratic corporation, because it was only allowed on sufferance to use the public pasture-land. Thus the *patres* had abandoned their claim to be the sole holders of legal authority only to grasp it in reality with a firmer hand. Had they been wise they might have long maintained sole possession of the offices of state. But the narrow-minded selfish policy which they, like all other aristocratic corporations, pursued, rendered discord and ruinous civil strife inevitable. They put the state revenues in the hands of farmers, thus pressing grievously on the middle classes. Instead of letting poor citizens use the pasture-land at so much per head of cattle they permitted it to be

monopolized by individuals. Instead of assigning conquered plough-lands to the poor they retained them nominally for the state, really allotting them to a few privileged persons. The consequence of all this was soon felt. Debt became common, and the debtors desperate, and accordingly the first convulsion was caused not by a cry for political equality on the part of the plebs but for pecuniary relief.

Fifteen years after the political revolution which has been related the first secession took place B.C. 495. The levies for a dangerous war would not serve. Servilius the consul suspended the debtor-laws to induce them to fight, but the other consul, Appius Claudius, as soon as the victory was won, re-enforced them. Next year the same course was pursued, but this time the recusants would not trust the word of the consul, and would march only when a dictator was created, and he a Valerius and a friend of the people. Valerius proved true; but the senate thwarted him, and his reforms were only carried by the people's secession to the hill beyond the Anio, called henceforth Mons Sacer. This secession was the origin of the tribunate of the plebs. Side by side with the two patrician consuls two plebeian tribunes were now elected, powerless against a dictator or a consul outside the city, but in the city equals of the consuls. They could cancel any command of a magistrate by which a citizen felt aggrieved. They could pronounce criminal sentences without limit, and defend them if appealed against before the people; and soon, they could address the people in general and initiate projects of law. By their cancelling power—their power of veto—they could save a levied soldier from service or a condemned debtor from imprisonment, and they could summon and ad-

judge to death or fine any citizen, even the consul himself.

They had no military power, and so could not convoke the centuries ; so a new mode of voting was introduced by twenty-one tribes ; and though the voters in the *comitia tributa* were the same as in the *comitia centuriata* the nobles had no precedence in voting as they had in the latter, and the tribunes were presidents of the assembly. This new jurisdiction of tribunes, with their assistant *ædiles*, struck especially at the magistrate. Hitherto the consul had been absolute in office, and the right of appeal against him after his year of office had not been exercised. But now a parallel jurisdiction was created, and the consuls were controlled by the tribunician power. The tribunes also obtained legislative power through their right of addressing the tribes ; and *plebiscita*, or resolutions of the multitude, though not strictly valid decrees of the people, almost at once obtained practical force. But in its essence the tribunician power was negative as the consular power was positive, and absolute prohibition was in the most stern and abrupt fashion opposed to absolute command.

The origin of the tribunate was, as we have seen, the agitation of the debtors. Powerful weapon though it became in the hands of the plebeians, it was a concession wrung from the rich rather than from the politically privileged, from the landlords as capitalists rather than as men of rank. As such it was a signal failure. The wealthy plebeians had as much interest as the patricians in maintaining the old system of finance. But the patricians at once arrayed themselves for battle with the new institution, which they saw would soon menace their political supremacy. War literally to the knife was declared

between the two parties. The story of Coriolanus, and that of the emigration of the Fabii, illustrate the fanatical exasperation which prevailed, and the assassination of Cnæus Genucius by the patricians brought about the passing of the Publilian law (471), which transferred the election of the tribunes from the curies to the tribes. The figure of one great man, Spurius Cassius, arrests the attention as the first patriot among the patricians who saw, and was unselfish enough to try and remedy, the most crying abuse of the state. He proposed to have the state-land measured, to lease part for the good of the state, and distribute the rest to the needy ; in other words, he proposed the first agrarian law. Then the patricians and rich plebeians rose as one man. Cassius had to die, and his law was buried with him, but its spectre from that time incessantly haunted the eyes of the rich.

The awkward opposition of consulate and tribunate made men look for some other method of adjusting the differences between the orders ; and in 451 and 450, after a struggle of ten years, a code of law was drawn up by decemvirs appointed for the purpose,—the law of the Twelve Tables,—and though the plebeians gained no great extension of privileges by it, the consuls were henceforth bound to administer justice according to a fixed and written book of law. The decemvirs refused to resign, probably because the patricians hoped to find some opportunity of reviving the consulate without the tribunate, and without the restrictions imposed by the Valerian law. The result of this violence was the restoration of the tribunate, the subjection of the dictator to the obligation of allowing an appeal from his decisions, the taking away from the consuls of the military chest and giving it to quæstors nomin-

ated by the tribunes at their comitia, and consequently the legalization of their plebiscita, and the giving the tribunes a deliberative voice in the senate. The personal inviolability of the tribunes was secured by the most sacred oaths and every tie of religious reverence. The anti-tribunician movement was social in its origin, and some of the wealthy plebeians sympathized with it. But some also from the first sided with the party of progress. The restoration of the tribunate presented a tempting lever for the removal of the disabilities of their order; and four years after the decemviral reform we find the Canuleian law carried, legalizing intermarriage between patricians and plebeians, and another law substituting military tribunes for consuls, and thus opening the supreme office to the plebeians, who were of old qualified to become officers. The patricians would have been wise to yield in name what they had lost in reality, but with characteristic spitefulness and folly, they grasped at every petty expedient which chicanery could suggest to stave off the inevitable hour. Annually they renewed the contest whether consuls or military tribunes should be elected, and they took from the consular office and vested in two censors the adjustment of the budget and the roll of citizens.

Thus they hoped to multiply their strongholds to be overthrown. They also tried on the same principle to detach the nomination of the city quæstors from the consulate, but this only provoked the plebeians to carry a law by which they became eligible to the military as well as the city quæstorship. As these intrigues progressed party spirit grew fierce. Spurius Mælius, a plebeian, and Marcus Manlius, a patriotic patrician (the latter for reviving

the proposals of Spurius Cassius), were murdered on the probably baseless charge that they were aspiring to become kings. But the sufferings of the farmer class, which Manlius had pitied, became intolerable; and as the plebeian aristocracy found themselves excluded from office by the silly obstinacy of the patricians, the farmers and the plebeian aristocracy struck up an alliance, the result of which was the carrying of the Licinio-Sextian laws (367). By these laws the consulship was re-established, but one consul was always to be a plebeian. One of the colleges of priests was to be opened to plebeians. Limits were put to the number of cattle a man might keep on the common pasture and to the acres of common land he might occupy. Landlords were to employ freemen in proportion to the slaves they had on their lands. Debtors were to be relieved by deduction of paid interest from their debts, and by being allowed to pay off so much at a time. The Licinian laws practically put an end to the struggle for political equality. The patricians still indeed continued a senseless opposition, and some twenty years later ventured to nominate both consuls out of their body. But next year the community formally resolved to allow both consuls to be plebeians, and the patricians never again encroached on the second consular place. With the same tactics they severed the administration of justice from the consulate on the passing of the Licinian laws, on the pretext of the nobility being exclusively cognizant of law while other duties were allotted to newly nominated curule ædiles. But this ædileship was immediately opened to plebeians. The dictatorship was opened to them in 356; the censorship in 351; the prætorship in 337; the two colleges of pontiffs and augurs in 300. The struggle

between the old patricians and the plebeians was at an end. The patricians still kept the priority of suffrage in the comitia centuriata, but they were excluded by law from one consulship, one censorship, the tribunate, and the plebeian aedileship. They had nothing to fall back upon but a sulky spirit of social exclusiveness, which survived for centuries.

Though political inequalities had thus been swept away, the Licinian laws had failed to cure the economical malady of the nation. Distress, if for the time alleviated, soon cried aloud again for help. Usury, though forbidden, flourished, and the rich continued to evade the agrarian law; Licinius himself being the first man prosecuted for breaking it.

Luckily for Rome her political success furnished a means for relieving her proletariat. Great victories silenced faction, filled the treasury, and drew off the needy agriculturists to new lands, and the wealth circulating at Rome reduced the rate of interest. At the close of this period the average prosperity of the middle class was much greater than it had been during the first century after the expulsion of the kings. Out of the middle class however a new aristocracy was already rising. The wealthy plebeians coalesced with the old patricians, many of them, in the true spirit of *parvenus*, evincing a double portion of patrician insolence; and, as was inevitable, a new opposition too was forming, not now of plebeians opposed to patricians, but of the common people, and chiefly the small farmers, opposed to the landlords and capitalists. Already leaders arose such as Manius Curius (290-274), and Caius Fabricius (282-275), to oppose the arrogance of men like Appius Claudius. But the interests of party were as yet

suspended in the interests of the state, and though the breach was already formed the antagonists still shook hands over it.

The Republican commonwealth now consisted of three elements—the citizens in their comitia, the senate, and the magistrates. The former continued to be the legal sovereign. The same people voted in the comitia centuriata as the comitia tributa, but in the former their votes were graduated by their property, whereas in the latter they voted on an equality. So voting by tribes was now made equally valid as voting by centuries, except in matters such as the election of consuls, &c. once for all committed to the comitia centuriata. Quintus Fabius Maximus, conqueror of the Samnites, saw that the freedman-element—ever growing stronger in a slave-holding community—might become too powerful, and averted the danger by incorporating all who had no land in the four city-tribes, and ranking them not as before first, but last, while the rural tribes, which soon increased to thirty-one, were reserved for freeholders, who accordingly vastly preponderated in the comitia tributa. In the comitia centuriata the wealthy had a decided preference, and therefore could afford to take fewer precautions. The power of the comitia tended to become wider. For instance, they began to appoint officers in the army. They did not, however, interfere with administrative matters on the whole, except in declaring war, or when the magistrates came into collision with each other, and their practical influence in state affairs began to wane. As the Roman frontier extended, her assemblies lost their old significance, and tended to become mere instruments in the hands of the presiding magistrates. The magistrates,

again, had lost much of their power. The power of the consuls had been subdivided and weakened. The power of the dictator was no longer unlimited, but specially defined. The tribunate—that formidable engine of the past and future revolutionary parties—was for the present, and a long time to come, politically annihilated by being absorbed and adopted by the government. The tribunes were allowed a seat in, instead of as before at the door of, the Senate. Subsequently they could convoke it, consult it, and obtain its decrees, and thus the sharpest weapon of opposition was turned into an instrument of government. It was the senate which now really governed the commonwealth. Senators could only be deprived of their places every fifth year, and kept them, except in case of misconduct, for life. By the Ovinian law every curule ædile and prætor was *ex officio* placed by the censor on the senate roll, and other senators (pedarii) could only vote, not speak in the senate. Thus the main body of the senate came to be constituted no longer by the will of a magistrate, but by indirect popular election, in which merit was a man's best recommendation. The senate, while conniving at the enlargement of the powers of the comitia, grasped the real substance of power, a decisive influence over legislation and official elections, and the whole control of the state. Every new project of law was first discussed in it. In urgent cases it could absolve from the laws. It could appoint a dictator. It practically had the disposition of the provinces. In administrative functions it was absolute; in war, in peace, and alliances, in the assignation of lands, in building, in the whole system of finance, and in fact in every matter of permanent and general importance. This new power of

the senate was, it is clear, a complete revolution of the State. A corporation meant only to advise had seized the central government. The kings had been superseded by the consuls, and now the consuls were superseded by an "assembly of kings."

The development of the constitutional changes at Rome, during the next century and a half, was as it were drowned amid the tumult of great wars and victories. Silently, however, a mighty change had been effected, and men were now unconsciously parting off again into two divisions, as sharply divided and as mortally antagonistic as they ever were in the days of Spurius Cassius and the Appii Claudii. That struggle had ended in office being thrown open theoretically and legally to all citizens. It had ended in a political victory for the plebeians. Nominally the despotism of an oligarchy had been overthrown. But it was found now that office, though in theory open to all, was in practice confined to a few. The upper-middle class had blended with the upper class only to form a more exclusive body than ever. A social despotism succeeded the preceding legal despotism. The result of the Licinian laws amounted in reality to the creation of a new batch of peers. There was now a governing hereditary nobility, and the feud between the gentes in possession of the government and the commons rising in revolt against the gentes could not but begin afresh.

1. The senate was wholly, or nearly wholly, aristocratic in its constitution.

The citizens, no doubt, at this epoch were still too independent of the nobility, perhaps still too prudent, wholly to exclude, or even to desire to exclude, non-nobles from the senate, but the senators who had not entered the

senate through a curule office (which none but nobles ever obtained) were treated as inferior, and excluded from debate, and the senate became substantially a mainstay of the nobility.

2. As the selection of the citizen-equites depended on the censors, it was not easy to hinder them looking to noble birth more than to capacity, and from allowing men of standing who were once admitted senators, particularly, to retain their horse beyond the proper time, so that the legionary cavalry became a close aristocratic corps. And so we see how important an engine the censorship was in the hands of the social aristocracy, and on these three institutions—the censorship, the senate, and the equites—its authority was principally based. In this social aristocracy we find a few families such as the Scipios and the Flamini supreme, the nepotism of the latter being even more shameless than that of the former, but the consciousness of fellow-feeling and common interest made the individual members of this aristocratic body so unwilling to give offence, and so pliant to the multitude, that all discipline was rotten at the core. It was even deemed singular when Paullus told his electors he presumed they had chosen him general against Perseus, because they saw he was most capable of command, and requested them therefore to be silent and obey. This double process of corruption, *i.e.* the necessity of flattering the huge elective body, and the necessity of being on good terms with the small coterie of the practical rulers, led to the most ruinous effects. Flaminius, a murderer of the foulest sort, was summoned back to his senatorial seat by his fellow-senators, after being expelled from it by the just Cato; and Cato could make this remark with truth, “He who steals from a

citizen ends his days in chained fetters, but he who steals from the community ends them in gold and purple."

Side by side with these changes in the urban society went on a great change in the position of the provincials. Just as the ruling class in Rome separated farther from the people, so did the people in their turn assert their superiority to the Italian confederacy. The plebeiate, which had grown great through liberal principles, wrapped itself up now in the rigid maxims of patricianism. It is true there were grades of ill-treatment. The Italians were burdened more heavily with taxes and honoured less than Romans, but the Bruttians, the Celts, and the transmarine subjects (*i.e.* Spain, Africa, Sicily, Sardinia) were far more heavily oppressed. Nevertheless, through Italy there was profound dissatisfaction with the Roman rule.

In these transmarine provinces the Romans had simply adopted the form of government they had displaced. The proconsul did, indeed, bear sway instead of the king, but the government remained unchanged though the name was different. The prætor in Sicily occupied Hiero's palace. His government was simply what Hiero's had been. At first, however, there was a change for the better in the condition of the provincials. Ancestral piety, stern simplicity, rigid dignity, were still characteristic Roman qualities, and this was afterwards (in the days of Verres, *e.g.*) looked back on as the golden age of provincial government. But it soon became impossible to play the double game of republican and king, and it was already considered singular that Paullus did not take money, and Paullus was borne to his grave by representatives of the Spaniards, Ligurians, and Macedonians, out of love to the man who had conquered them.

If this was the condition of the ruling body and the provinces, what was the condition of the rising opposition? The elective body was now enormous. All the new voters were now enrolled in the old tribes, so that there could be no concerted action among towns voting together at Rome, but separated far apart in Italy. Nor could they understand or judge for the best in politics from the same reason (as on occasion of the second Macedonian war, *e.g.*). The city rabble too was coquetted with by the nobles, and so bribed by them that Cato could say, "No wonder the citizens could no longer listen to good advice; the belly had no ears."

The nobles were willing to pay dear for their monopoly of honours in shows and largesses, and the city rabble became more and more greedy. Still, outside the city, the farmer class was as yet a substantially noble body of men, always willing to vote right if they saw their way, as when, for instance, they elected Paullus to the command against Perseus, and gave him a triumph; and the representative of this class was Cato. Witty, brave, a good officer, and of an iron frame, Cato represented all that was of the old Roman type lingering still in Italy. But he was narrow-minded, and full of bitter personal antipathies. He hated refinement as much as he hated villany. He could never trace evils to their true source, but contented himself with fierce diatribes on the Scipios and Flamini. It was owing to him that many useful reforms were carried out, such as the sending out of colonies, for instance, Placentia, Cremona, Mutina, Parma; the lowering of the standard of entrance to the equites; and if Roman government could have been preserved pure and honest it would have been preserved so by Cato.

But it was beyond preservation.

The rabble of the city was becoming more corrupt every day. The nobles of the city were already as corrupt as they could be. Bread and shows were the grand bait to the one, titles and gold to the other. And the great body of electors in the country were either useless or dangerous, from their disorganization. From this state of things the battles of Trasimene and Cannæ, and the disgraceful mismanagement of the war against Persens, resulted. And as the transmarine provinces were groaning more and more under the more grinding yoke, and as the Italian population was becoming more and more despised by the civic population, all things portended a terrible convulsion, which would assume a threefold character.

1. The revolution of the new men in Rome against the clique of usurping families.

2. The revolution of the allies against the civic usurpers.

3. The revolution of ground-down transmarine provincials against their Roman taskmasters.

The dull murmur of the swelling tide was already audible, as it worked at the dikes and dams of the constitution, and the Gracchi, slave wars, social wars, civil wars are already foreshadowed in the contests of the Scipios and the Flaminini against Cato.

The Sicilian slave war, 134-132, is the first great outbreak of a storm long gathering over Rome. We have noticed the social change which had taken place since the legal distinctions between the orders had been effaced, and we remarked that practically there was as great a gulf as ever between two classes, socially not legally separate; between Optimates and Populares, not between Patriciate and Plebs. The Optimates clung to a system, the germs

of which were of ancient origin, but which had lately developed with alarming swiftness. Roman economy was based on two factors, the husbandry of the small farmers and the money of the capitalist. The latter in the closest alliance with landholders on a great scale, had already, for centuries, waged against the farmer-class a war which seemed as though it could not but terminate in the destruction, first of the farmers and then of the whole commonwealth. And now it had ended in (1) the depreciation of the Italian farms; (2) the supplanting of the petty husbandry; (3) the farming of large estates; (4) the replacing of free labourers by slaves.

Now, just as the nobility was more dangerous than the patriciate, because the former could not, like the latter, be set aside by a change of the constitution; so this new power of capital was more dangerous than that of the third and fourth centuries B.C., because nothing could be done to oppose it by changes in the law of the land. Moreover, the system of slavery had been altered. It was no longer the old, in some measure innocent, rural slavery, where either the farmer tilled his fields side by side with his slave, or else the slave acted as his bailiff, giving him a tithe in kind of the farm. It was now just like the slave-system of America, based on methodical man-hunting. Western Asia was the negroland of that age, where the Cretans and Cilicians were the Haleys and Legrees of the Roman slave-owners; and so fast was the decrease of the slave population, that no slave market could supply the demand. In whatever direction speculation applied itself, its instrument was invariably man reduced in the eye of the law to a brute. Trades, mining, revenue-collecting, pastoral husbandry, were all performed by slaves; and, out of Italy,

the worst form of slavery, the plantation system, prevailed. The fields were cultivated by bands of men branded with iron, with shackles on their legs, under the eye of overseers during the day, locked up by night together in a common, often a subterranean prison. This plantation system had migrated from the East to Carthage, had been brought by Carthage to Sicily, and in Sicily therefore was developed earlier and more horribly than in any other part of the Roman dominions. From Italy it was as yet absent. This is shewn by the fact that, in this slave-war, the Mamertine slaves were the only ones who did not revolt, and the only ones who were under the Italian, not the Sicilian system. The abyss of misery and woe which opens before our eyes in this most miserable of all proletariates is too fearful almost to be fathomed. It is very possible that, compared with the sufferings of the Roman slaves, the sum of all negro suffering is but a drop. No wonder the poor bondsmen broke out again and again against their torturers. In Italy, in Delos, in Attica, in Asia Minor, there were brief but fierce insurrections. At last, in Sicily, the chosen land of the plantation system, chronic brigandage gradually swelled into a great revolution. The mountebank Eunus and the brave Achaus for three years defied, in their despair, the degenerate legions and generals of Rome. At last the fire was quenched, but the seeds of fire were still left glowing, and we shall find it before long burst out with still greater fury. The shameful mismanagement and misgovernment of Rome is shewn by this fact. Captive robbers had formerly been given up to their masters to be punished at their discretion. Their masters, we know, connived at their brigandage. Now the Consul P. Rupilius crucified

20,000 slaves taken as brigands. But such summary measures, though they might appal by their ferocity for the moment, were as useless to cure the evil as they were intolerable sins against humanity.

Everywhere throughout the Roman world a dumb cry of misery went up to heaven for a saviour who could help the helpless, and smite down the oppressor.

Before the storm of the great Gracchan reform movement bursts, we may take a survey of Rome's condition during the treacherous lull which succeeded the fall of Carthage. The policy of Rome changed with the change of her social system. Her first plan of foreign politics was to stand as protector of a vast aggregate of client states, too weak individually to be dangerous to her supremacy, too well pitted against each other to be capable of collective action. But these undefended client states had neither independence nor peace. In Africa there subsisted a perpetual border war between Carthage and Numidia. In Egypt Roman arbitration had settled the disputed succession of the two Ptolemies, but the rulers of Egypt and Cyrene quarrelled for the province of Cyprus. In Asia not only were most of the kingdoms, Bithynia, Cappadocia, Syria, likewise torn by internal quarrels about the succession, but various and severe wars were carried on between the Attalids and the Galatians, between the Attalids and the kings of Bithynia, and even between Rhodes and Crete. In Hellas proper likewise, the pigmy feuds which were customary there continued to smoulder, and even Macedonia, formerly so tranquil, consumed its strength in the intestine strife that arose out of its new democratic constitution. The fault lay as well with the rulers as the ruled. The client-states ought to have perceived that a state which can-

not wage war against every one, cannot wage war at all.

When the Achæans seriously deliberated whether they should give the aid of the league to Rhodes or Crete, and seriously deliberated as to sending it, it was simply a political farce. But the ruling community deserves a censure more severe. It ought either to have renounced its authority or executed it firmly. It did neither. Invoked and importuned on all hands, the senate interfered incessantly, but after so inconsistent and loose a fashion that its attempts at settlement only made the confusion worse confused.

It was the epoch of commissions. Commissioners were sent everywhere, their frivolous arbitration producing nothing but hatred or contempt of the state which employed them. This weak organization was already felt in the frontiers. It was but too evident already that the Euphrates was no longer guarded by the phalanx of Seleucus, and it was not yet watched by the legions of Augustus. It was high time to put an end to this uncertain state of things, and the only possible way of ending it was by converting the client-states into Roman provinces. Sicily, Sardinia, and the two Spains existed already. Greece was divided into Macedonia and Achaia. Illyria and Cisalpine Gaul made up the number to eight, and the portentous name of Africa (portentous because it opened up a vista of future aggression) completed the number of nine. Cappadocia and Pontus were recognized as independent kingdoms by Rome. Bithynia, Paphlagonia, Galatia, Cyzicus, Rhodes, and the Lycian, Carian and Pamphylian confederacies continued in their former circumscribed relations. Nevertheless, though the senate seemed to have partially awoke to its true position, it continued to

meddle with sovereign kingdoms in a capricious and impotent fashion. When the mad king Antiochus Epiphanes had by his persecuting levelling system driven the Jews into rebellion, the Romans gave no other aid to the brave Maccabees except some paltry threats against Antiochus which they did not intend to carry out. They were forsooth so powerful that it seemed superfluous to guard their own honour. In this absence of any active dominant power in the East, kingdoms arose which were destined to be sharp thorns in the side of the improvident Republic hereafter. Such were the two Armenias, which soon rose to great prosperity under the Artaxiads. Such above all was Parthia.

The Parthian state, as compared with that of the Seleucidæ, was based on a national and religious reaction. The old Iranian language, the order of the Magi and the worship of Mithra, the oriental feudal constitution, the cavalry of the desert, and the bow and arrow, first emerged there in renewed and triumphant opposition to Hellenism. The family of the Seleucidæ was by no means so enervated as that of the Lagidæ for instance, and some of them were not deficient in valour and ability, but the result was inevitable. The eastern provinces of Syria, under their unprotected or even insurgent satraps, fell into subjection to the Parthians. Persia, Babylonia and Media were for ever severed from the Syrian Empire. The new state of the Parthians reached on both sides of the desert from the Oxus and the Hindoo Koosh to the Tigris and the Desert of Arabia, once more, like the Persian Empire and all the older great states of Asia, a pure continental monarchy, and once more, just like the Persian Empire, engaged in perpetual feud on the one side with the people of Turan, on the other with the Occidentals.

The Syrian state embraced at most Mesopotamia and the region of the coast, and disappeared from the list of great nations.

This revolution in the relations of the people of Asia is the turning-point in the history of antiquity. The tide of national movement which had hitherto poured from the West to the East, and had found in Alexander the Great its last and highest expression, was followed by the ebb. The Roman Senate sacrificed the first essential result of the policy of Alexander, and thereby paved the way for that retrograde movement whose last offshoots ended in the Alhambra of Granada and in the great Mosque of Constantinople. Since Alexander the world had obeyed the Occidentals alone. With Mithridates the First the East re-entered the sphere of political movement. The world had again two masters. In this stage of Roman decline we may note the prevalence of piracy, shewing the shortcoming of the Republic to have existed by sea as well as by land. Rome no longer possessed a fleet of her own. She was content to make requisitions for ships from the maritime towns of Italy, Asia Minor, etc., when she thought it necessary. The consequence was, that buccaneering became consolidated and organized, and the Archipelago became a nest of pirates.

The general results of the metamorphosis which had taken place in the social and metropolitan condition of Rome may be summed up thus. It had been seen by the leading men who belonged to the next generation after Cato, that it was necessary to substitute for the protectorate exercised abroad direct sovereignty. This they had effected. But instead of carrying out the new arrangement firmly, speedily, and uniformly, they annexed isolated provinces just as convenience, caprice,

collateral advantage or accident led them to do so, whereas the greater portion of the dependent states either remained in the intolerable uncertainty of their former position, or even, as was the case with Syria especially, withdrew entirely from the influence of Rome. And even the government itself degenerated more and more into feeble and shortsighted selfishness. It was content with governing from one day to another, and barely transacting the current business as exigency required. It was a stern master to the weak. On the other hand, sternness was wanting in those cases where it would have been in place, as in the case of the barbarians on the frontier and the pirates. When the central government renounced all superintendence and all oversight of provincial affairs, it entirely abandoned not only the interests of the subjects, but also those of the state to the governor of the day. The events which occurred in Spain, unimportant in themselves, are instructive in this respect. In that country, where the government was less able than in other provinces to confine itself to the part of a mere onlooker, the law of nations was directly trampled under foot by the Roman governor, and the honour of Rome was permanently dragged in the mire by a perfidy and faithlessness without parallel, by the most wanton trifling with capitulations and treaties, by massacring men who had submitted, and instigating the assassination of the generals of the enemy. Nor was this all. War was even waged and peace concluded against the expressed will of the supreme authority in Rome, and unimportant incidents, such as the disobedience of the Numantines, were developed by a rare combination of perversity and folly into a crisis of fatal moment for the state, and all this took place without any effort to visit it even with a serious penalty in Rome.

The most glorious cities of neighbouring lands were sacrificed, not to the barbarism of the law of power, but to the far more horrible barbarism of speculation. The Roman fleet went to ruin. The system of land warfare fell into incredible decay. The duty of guarding the Asiatic and African frontier was devolved upon subjects, or where this was impossible, as in Italy, Macedonia, and Spain, it was managed after the most wretched fashion. An effeminate dislike to war-service grew ripe in Rome. The armies before Carthage and Numantia already remind one of those Syrian armies in which the number of bakers, cooks, actors, and other non-combatants, exceeded fourfold that of the so-called soldiers. The assassination of Viriathus is now a masterpiece of Roman diplomacy. The conquest of Numantia is a magnificent achievement. The deep deterioration of national and manly honour at Rome was shewn with epigrammatic point by the statue of the stripped and bound Mancinus, which he himself, proud of his patriotic disinterestedness, caused to be erected at Rome.

Rome's internal energy as well as her external power are at this period of our history rapidly on the decline. The ground won in gigantic struggles is not extended, nay, is not maintained in this time of peace. The government of the world, difficult in the attainment, was still more difficult in the preservation. The Roman Senate had mastered the former task, but it broke down under the latter.

The Gracchan revolution is the most interesting and the most puzzling portion of the constitutional history of Rome.

It is interesting not only in itself, but as presenting many features common to modern revolutions, and it is

hard to understand, from the multiplicity of motives which swayed the Gracchi, and the multiplicity of interests which they were obliged to respect at once. One thing however is very clear, that a revolution was necessary. Roman generals were beaten by slaves, Roman governors tortured the provincials, Roman citizens were sunk in luxury, cowardice, and vice. The civic populace were imperiously clamouring for gratuitous support to their aristocratic rulers. The Italians were gloomily watching the growing indolence of the city, once their equal, then their powerful ally, now their overbearing mistress; and lastly, the transmarine provincials were treasuring up a store of burning wrath and hatred, as they were plundered or murdered at the caprice of a consul's favourite or to appease the injured delicacy of a consul's wife. In such a state of things there was but one alternative to the utter dissolution of the body politic, and that was a revolution. The old aristocratic government of Rome had to be purged away. It had done good service to the state in its rise to imperial rule, but it had been intoxicated by its deep draught of power, and had become the scourge of the world instead of its benefactor.

It was an unconsciously bitter sarcasm on their own order that those aristocrats pronounced when they raised a temple to Concord after their cowardly murder of Caius Gracchus. A hollow concord they had indeed insured at Rome, but it entailed and foreshadowed that most terrible discord which was to embroil all the world for the best part of the next century.

Before making any remarks on the aim and scope of the Gracchan reforms, it will be well simply to enumerate them.

Tiberius proposed what was, in a certain sense, nothing

but a renewal of the Licinian law. All state lands occupied by the possessors without remuneration were to be resumed by the state, minus 500 jugera to be kept by each occupier, and for his two eldest sons another 250 apiece. The land thus resumed was to be allotted in portions of 50 jugera to citizens and Italian allies, as inalienable leaseholds for which a moderate rent was to be paid. The clause in favour of the occupier and the mode of tenure were new features in this agrarian law, which, if it revived state claims so long dormant as to seem obsolete to the occupiers, was, or appeared to be, the only means of preventing the decline of the Italian farmer-class. Tiberius had proposed a single administrative reform, Caius introduced a new constitution.

First, he proposed that every citizen should, on demanding it, receive a monthly allowance of corn from the state.

Secondly, the five property classes in the comitia centuriata were no longer to vote in order, but the order of voting was to be in future decided by lot.

Thirdly, the agrarian law was reaffirmed.

Fourthly, colonies were to be established both in Italy and the transmarine provinces. Thus the state-law hitherto in force, by which Italy was regarded exclusively as the governing, and the provincial territory as the governed land, was abandoned.

Fifthly, the penal laws were modified, and the term of military service abridged.

Sixthly, the equestrian order, which mainly consisted of the aristocracy of capital as opposed to the aristocracy of rank, was gratified by the proposal to put up for auction at Rome the taxes of Asia, which had hitherto been free from the grasp of middlemen, and to select juries from the equestrian instead of the senatorial order.

Thus Caius, without consulting the Senate, meddled with the state chest by imposing the corn-dole, meddled with the domains by sending colonies, not at the senate's decree as formerly, but at the decree of the people, and meddled with the provincial administration by overturning the financial constitution of Asia. There is no need to ascribe any superhuman virtue to the Gracchi in order thoroughly to sympathize with their aims and fate. Disinterested they were not, if disinterestedness be supposed simply an abnegation of all self-aggrandizement. The first thing to be insisted on in their characters (in the character at all events of Caius), is that all his efforts were uniformly directed to the establishment of a monarchy, and himself as monarch. Without this his great measures either stultify him or reduce him to the level of the demagogue in the worst sense of the word.

But with that key to his political life we can readily understand the mingled awe and admiration with which the moderate statesmen of his own and later times looked up to him, and we ourselves can hardly refuse him the praise of being one of the most extraordinarily gifted statesmen of that or any other age. There is this difference between the two brothers, that while we feel compassion for the gentle, refined Tiberius, no such soft feeling (for compassion always implies some slight mixture of contempt) disturbs our appreciation of the character of Caius. He had that in common with all the great leaders of great revolutions, with Mirabeau, with Danton, with Cromwell, that from the very first he threw down boldly as his stake his own life, and played his game as coolly and resolutely as if the stake, when once hazarded, had lost all value in his own eyes.

Tiberius also was a noble and a gallant man, but as his

reforms had somewhat of a sentimental character, so he seemed to be resorting to desperate measures only when brought to bay. But Caius was troubled by no irresolution, no doubt, from the first. His efforts were not the efforts of a blind politician, stumbling into more and more revolutionary measures as the appetite of his followers grew more exacting. They were the clear-sighted resolute efforts of a man bent on establishing a tyrannis at Rome, in place of the rotten and effete aristocracy which pampered its own vices on the misery of a whole world. Such being the character of the two brothers, and such the exigencies of the times, we must cry shame on the people who could permit them to be sacrificed. It shews clearly how deep the canker of national degradation had eaten into the Roman character, that such noble champions should not only not have been defended, but not even comprehended by the best men of the time. The Opimii and the Nasicas comprehended them. Selfish instinct with them had all the effects of inspiration. They saw the reign of their order threatened with annihilation, and they murdered the men who sought to raise themselves on its fall. But Scipio Æmilianus, Metellus, and later, Cicero, represent that wavering, respectable, moderate class of politicians who mistake timidity for wisdom, and think all wholesale reforms the project of a knave or a fool. To us, however, the necessity of a tyrannis then at Rome is now transparent.

The Roman aristocracy rejected the noble-minded Gracchus as it afterwards rejected the noble-minded Julius Cæsar, but in the interim it was compelled to submit to the coarse and savage soldier Marius, the infamous Sulla, and afterwards paid the penalty for its crimes and folly to the full as it was mercilessly crushed and

trampled on by such emperors as Tiberius. From such a fate it would have been saved had it had the wisdom to acquiesce in the sovereignty of either of the two illustrious brothers. And now, taking for granted (1) the necessity of a monarchy at Rome, (2) the weak and suicidal as well as brutal policy of the aristocracy, we may sum up the character of the reform proposed and the reason of its failure.

There were three parties at Rome whom the reformers were obliged to cow or to cajole, the social aristocracy, the monied mercantile class, and the mob. There were also three parties in the country equally distinct and equally formidable if left unsatisfied: (1) the large landed proprietors who were absentees; (2) the oppressed and struggling small farmers who were Romans; (3) the small farmers who were Italians.

If we think how distinct the class-interests of these parties were, how easy it was for an opponent to win over one of them to his side at a critical moment by pandering to its selfishness, we shall have less difficulty in disentangling what seems at first an inextricably confused maze of political cheating and tergiversation, when we find the Gracchan party opposed now to the landed gentry, now to the Italian small farmers, and again to the civic mob at Rome.

1. The agrarian law pleased the Roman small farmer, because he hoped to get his land extended, and to be more independent under a fresh distribution. It offended the large landowner, because he had come to look on a traditional inheritance as an inalienable right. It offended the Italian small farmer, because, in a fresh distribution of land, he could hope to get nothing more, most likely nothing at all from the state, which was in far different cir-

circumstances from those in which it had originally admitted him to its lands. Here, then, is one, at first sight, anomalous league against the Gracchi, that of the large Roman and the small Italian landowners, accounted for and explained.

2. To divide the enemy's camp it was proposed to give the franchise to Italians, and thus compensate them, by the exemption from taxation which accompanied that honour, for their immediate loss. Instantly the aristocracy appealed to the base pride and prejudice of the lower orders of the city and country, declaiming to them of the dishonour of Roman being swamped in Italian votes. Hence arose a second combination, that of the aristocracy and the civic mob against the Italians and Gracchus.

3. To stop the ravening mouth of the civic mob, and obtain its acquiescence in the Italian franchise, the Gracchi adopted such measures as the corn-dole, for which they have been so severely but so ludicrously condemned. But here the aristocracy met them on their own ground and outbid them, and again, and for different reasons, we find the lowest and the highest orders in unnatural league against them.

4. In attempting to conciliate the monied class, the Gracchi found they only leaned on a staff that pierced their own hand. The middle class of all countries, if, on the whole, the least chargeable with excesses, is the most sordid and least capable of a generous policy. It was so at Rome. The equestrian order eagerly snapped at the boons offered it, and was firmly established as a thorn in the side of the old social aristocracy, but without a moment's hesitation it deserted its benefactor in the hour of his need. It is not to be wondered at that, with such heterogeneous materials to work upon, the Gracchi

failed. What is inexcusable is, that historians should pick out such measures as those of the corn-dole, and charge them on their memory as heinous sins of demagogism. The aristocratic body was beyond all question the bane of Rome and the world at this time. To quell that body an alliance with the lower orders was inevitable. To obtain that alliance it was absolutely necessary to give them wages in kind. The Gracchi adopted the expedient, and have been condemned for adopting it, just as if the sin, if it were a sin, was theirs, and not the sin of the aristocracy who had rendered it necessary. We might as well blame a surgeon who, to cure a cancer, is compelled to use the knife.

Personal supremacy died for the time with Caius. But his constitution did not die. The oligarchy which had beaten him with weapons snatched from his armoury, appeared invested with the garb of the tyrannis it had overthrown. It did not immediately attack the corn-dole, the taxation of Asia, or the judicial innovations. On the contrary, it continued to court the mob and the monied class more than the Gracchi had done. But all the best of Caius' measures it allowed to drop. With all the doggedness of dotage, it resolved that Italy should still remain the ruling land in the world, and Rome the ruling city in Italy. The colonies of Caius were cancelled. The domain-land not distributed was declared the private property of the occupants. But it was really powerless before the mob and the monied class. It sat on the throne vacated by Caius with an evil conscience and divided hopes, loathing the institutions of the state, but incapable even of systematically assailing them, vacillating in all its conduct except where its own material advantage prompted its decision, a picture of faithlessness towards its own as well

as the opposite party, of inward inconsistency, of the most pitiful impotence, of the meanest selfishness—an unsurpassed ideal of misrule. The social ruin of Italy spread with alarming rapidity. The farms disappeared like rain-drops in the sea. Servile revolts broke out annually during the first years of the Cimbrian war. The condition of the provinces was even worse. The magistrates, being under the control of the monied men, made common cause with them, and both battered on the miserable provincials. The Mediterranean swarmed with buccaneers. Slave-revolts in Italy became slave-wars in the provinces, and the second Servile war in Sicily lasted five years. For fourteen years Jugurtha defied the Republic. The whole external and internal government bore the same stamp of miserable baseness. The Roman military service, down to the time of Marius, had rested on the Servian basis,—that is, the army was a levy of free citizens possessed of certain property. But the equestrian order had practically ceased to serve before his time. The middle class, both Roman and Italian, was disappearing. Thracians, Africans, Ligurians, Balearians, were daily employed in increasing numbers. The system of the levy was gradually being superseded by the system of contingents and volunteering. Marius, in 107, first permitted all free-born citizens to volunteer. He also did away with the special qualifications of property or age which regulated admission to the Velites, Hastati, Principes, and Triarii, *i.e.*, the advanced guard, the first, second, and third line of the legion. Once a legionary, a man's place was left solely at his officer's discretion. The old four standards were abolished. Each cohort had its ensign, and the whole legion its silver eagle. Thus, all civic and aristocratic distinctions were swept away, and such as took their place were purely military.

One new and ominous change dates from the time of Scipio Æmilianus. To secure his personal safety against his unruly soldiers, he had formed a body-guard, which was the origin of the Prætorian cohort. The result of all these changes is apparent. The soldier was no longer lost in the citizen. Service became a profession. The soldier's home was his camp, his science war, his only hope the general. What this implied is clear. On the Raudine plains Marius gave the franchise to two Italian cohorts in a body, and said that in the din of wars he could not hear the laws. There was a standing army, a soldier-class, a body-guard. The pillars of the future monarchy were in existence; only the monarch was wanting. The twelve eagles circling round the Palatine ushered in the kings. The new eagle which Marius gave the legions proclaimed the advent of the emperors.

But though Marius revolutionized the army, he could not as yet venture to seize the monarchy by its help. It was not as yet fit to become the instrument of a *coup d'état*. He, like the senatorial party before him, like Drusus after him, was forced to tread in the steps of the Gracchi. His confederates were Glaucia and Saturninus, and the Apuleian laws of the latter revived the projects of transalpine and transmarine colonization sketched by Caius Gracchus on the most extensive scale, besides taking the first step towards the equalization of the Italians with the Romans, by admitting them to a share in these purely Roman colonies.

As Gracchus was to have carried out in person his schemes, and thus would have been, during his lifetime, virtually monarch of Rome, so Marius was to carry out the Apuleian laws; but the land-assigning tribune was now replaced by the land-assigning consul, the civil adminis-

trator by the wielder of the sword. Gracchus had wooed the equites and the mob. So did his successors, increasing the judicial powers of the former, and cheapening the price of corn for the latter. The laws were passed mainly by help of the Marian veterans amid riotous scenes, but the fall of the ill-assorted league immediately followed.

The equites took fright at mob-violence, and made common cause with the aristocracy. The aristocracy cajoled Marius. Marius quarrelled with Saturninus. Saturninus defied him, and, being thrown in prison, was taken from it by the mob. His opponent for the tribunate was murdered by his partisans. The senate seized its opportunity, and, using Marius to suppress the riot, would not let him spare the lives of his old associates, and the would-be king sunk into the pitiful position for which his boorish mind and incapacity as a statesman suited him. The senate was once more supreme. Once more it had a golden moment, which it failed to use, and, having suppressed the Marian attempt at revolution, suppressed with equal ferocity Livius Drusus' wise attempt at reform.

An aristocrat by birth, of colossal fortune, of strictly conservative views, but of humane and noble nature, Drusus shrinking equally from the rule of a mob and the frightful provincial maladministration of the equites, seized the moment when the equites were estranged from the people to attempt to restore the management of the provinces to the senate. He was however opposed by some friends of the capitalist class in the senate, and by others of the aristocracy, who thought it less hazardous to let the equites have the lion's share in the spoil of the provinces provided they were not robbed of the jackal's. Drusus proposed to transfer the functions of jurymen to the senate, which was to be increased by 300, to create a

special commission for punishing jurymen who should accept bribes (thus rendering the capitalists responsible for injustice), to increase the corn-dole, and issue a coinage of copper-plated denarii to cover the increased expense, and to set aside land in Italy and Sicily for colonies. Lastly, he entered into distinct obligations to obtain the Roman franchise for the Italians. Thus we see the plans of Gracchus again put forward, only now it is the aristocracy courting the mob to coerce the equites. Drusus was at once the disciple and the antagonist of Caius. The vehement opposition encountered by Drusus induced him to throw all his propositions into one law so as to catch the votes of opposing interests, and he succeeded in carrying it. But his pledges to the Italians leaked out; a furious cry of treason was raised against him; his law, on a pretext of some informality, was annulled, and he himself assassinated. He had staked his life to stave off civil war: his death was the signal for the most fearful civil war that ever desolated Italy.

The Roman primacy in Italy had now subsisted unshaken for nearly two hundred years. Though the small farmers suffered from the injudicious corn-laws, the large landowners, and still more the mercantile class, were flourishing. On the other hand, the political inferiority of the Italians was daily more harshly displayed. The rights of Rome as the leading community were exercised as if the Italians were subjects, not allies. The fearfully severe martial law had been modified only for Romans. In the Jugurthine war esteemed Latin officers were beheaded by sentence of the council of war. The meanest Roman in such circumstances could have appealed to the civil tribunals of Rome. Once the Romans and Italians had manned the army in equal numbers, now, though

the Roman population had increased relatively more than the Italian, two allies served for one Roman. Italians were subjected to the caprice of the Roman magistrates hardly less than provincials. The smallest neglect of duty, the slightest levity, was punished at the magistrate's pleasure, even in the case of a citizen of a Latin colony, with scourging to death. Consequently, the variance which had hitherto been carefully fostered between the Latin and other Italian communities was fading away; and at the same time the allies were deprived of all hope of ultimately obtaining better rights. The Romans, after subjugating Italy, had closed their ranks. The bestowal of the franchise on communities was given up; its bestowal on individuals was greatly restricted. Even the liberty of migration to Rome in order to procure the *civitas sine suffragio* was curtailed, and all non-citizens resident at Rome were expelled by decree of the senate and people when the extension of the Roman franchise to the Italians began to be proposed at Rome. The Italians were now no longer the brothers of the Romans, protected by them and under their tutelage, yet not destined to perpetual minority; but subject all of them, in almost equal degree, to the rods and axes of their Roman masters, and, at the most, privileged to transmit the kicks received from those masters onward to the poor provincials. The Italians had made common cause first with the popular, then with the senatorial party, and had gained equally little from either. In 95 the Licinio Mucian law prohibited any one not having the full franchise from claiming it under heavy penalties.

Their last hopes were buried with Marcus Drusus. Remembering how the Romans had behaved in Italy without provocation, what could they now expect for those

who had, it was said, been in correspondence with Drusus in every leading town. They had only to choose between the sword and the axe, and they chose the former. The insurrection broke out at Asculum. It ran through the peninsula like fire through a prairie. All central and Southern Italy was soon in arms against Rome.

The Etruscans and Umbrians on the other hand held by Rome. In those regions the landed and monied aristocracy had from of old preponderated, and the middle class had disappeared, whereas among and near the Abruzzi, the farmer and middle class was more vigorous than anywhere else in Italy, and it was from them chiefly that the strength of the revolt came. Proposals were sent to Rome by the insurgents to lay down their arms on condition of receiving the franchise. But public spirit, so long wanting at Rome, revived when the question was one of opposing with stubborn narrow-mindedness a just demand. Suspected confederates of Drusus were banished on the motion of the tribune, Quintus Varius. This terrorism silenced party feuds. Democrats like Marius, aristocrats like Sulla, friends of Drusus like Sulpicius Rufus, rallied round the government. Thus began the struggle between the Sabellian ox and the Roman she-wolf, as one of the coins of the insurgents represents it in the year 91-90. At the end of the first year both armies had been weakened and disheartened by severe defeats, but from a political point of view the insurrection had largely gained, for a great portion of the Umbrian and Etruscan communities had thought it wise to join the rebels. The Romans were much downcast. Their outward and inward policy suddenly became one of concession. At the end of the same year (90), in which they had abruptly rejected the compromise proposed by the insurgents, a law was carried

taking from the capitalist class the commission of treason, and entrusting it to men nominated by the free choice of the tribes, so that it became a scourge of the ultras, instead of a scourge of the moderates, and Quintus Varius, himself its originator, was banished under it. The Romans saw in fact that moderation was imperative, and that they must yield to their antagonists. Accordingly the long closed gates of Roman citizenship were by the Julian law suddenly opened, not to all the Italians—that would have seemed submission to force—but to those that had remained loyal.

Every Italian citizen also was permitted by the Plautio-Papirian law to acquire the franchise by presenting himself before a Roman magistrate within two months. But the new citizens were to be restricted in the same way as freedmen, and enrolled only in eight of the thirty-five tribes. These laws related primarily to Italy proper, which then extended northwards little beyond Ancona and Florence. In Cisalpine Gaul all the Latin colonies were treated like the Italian communities. Of the other allied townships in that quarter the Cispadane received the franchise. The Transpadane were invested with the rights hitherto belonging to the less privileged of the Latin towns. The result of these concessions was that the insurrection spread no further. By the end of the year 89 it was beaten and hopeless, and only persevered in two regions, the Samnite and the Lucano-Bruttian. The year 88 opened with brilliant prospects for Rome, but it closed in gloom. Events had completely justified the party of concession. But the concessions had been made grudgingly and ungraciously. An injurious stigma was placed on the new citizens by placing them on nearly the same footing as freedmen. The communities between

the Po and the Alps had been irritated rather than conciliated by the concession of Latin rights. Lastly, the franchise was withheld from all the insurgent communities which had submitted. In Rome itself the ultras detested the whole idea of concession, the moderates felt themselves weakened by the loss of those banished by the Varian commission, and, therefore, powerless to render the concessions a reality instead of a farce. Besides these elements of strife, military discipline, before declining, had deteriorated rapidly during this demoralizing war. Soldiers assaulted their officers, and the general dared only coax them back to their duty. And now a cry arose from the debtors whom the social war and troubles in Asia had rendered unable to meet their engagements. "Novæ Tabulæ" was their cry, that is, that the claims of the creditors should be cancelled by law. Asellio the prætor was murdered when he enforced the creditors' claims, and once more we see the capitalists and aristocrats leagued against the moderates and the oppressed multitude. The Social War brought all these inflammable elements into perilous proximity, and an accident set them ablaze.

Publius Sulpicius Rufus was an aristocrat by birth, an eloquent orator, and a friend of Drusus. Seeing the inadequacy of the concessions made to the Italians, he felt himself called to complete Drusus' work. He proposed to equalize the new citizens with the old, to recall the Varian exiles, to expel all bankrupts from the senate, and as freedmen had been called to serve as soldiers, to confer on them the right of voting. He gave himself no trouble to court the senate or equites, but depended on an armed retinue, with which he appeared in the streets and the forum. Afraid of Sulla's influence over the army, he

joined himself to Marius, promising the latter the command against Mithridates. But Sulla was not the man to brook deposition. Holding out to his army the bait of the plunder of Asia, he assured himself of their fidelity, marched on Rome, slew Sulpicius, and put Marius to flight. The necessity of his instant departure to Asia was the signal for Cinna to reintroduce the proposals of Sulpicius and revolt against the government. Beaten in Rome he was exiled, but, being weakly permitted to linger in Italy, he went about from town to town of the newly enfranchised Italians, raised an army, was joined by Marius, and marched on Rome. In vain the senate now sacrificed what it had resisted so doggedly in the Social War, conferring the franchise on all the insurgent communities which had submitted. Only ten thousand responded to its summons for aid. It was starved into submission. Marius entered Rome, and glutted his vengeance by the wholesale massacre of that aristocracy which had sneered at him, cajoled him, used him, and then thrown him contemptuously aside. Marius died, and Cinna was left supreme—with more power than any popular leader before or afterwards in Italy and most of the provinces. But no one can be named whose government was so aimless and worthless. The Sulpician law for the equalization of the new with the old citizens was of course confirmed, and censors were appointed to redistribute all the Italians in thirty-five tribes. Caius Gracchus' design of a colony at Capua was carried into effect, and some alleviation was given to the debtors. But these measures were merely dictated by the moment and belonged to no set plan. The true mainstay of the new government were the new citizens. The rebellion in Samnium remained unsuppressed. Cinna remained where

one stormy wave of revolution had washed him up till another should come to sweep him away again.

The return of Sulla excited to desperation the last insurgents of the Social War still in arms. Cinna was dead, but the Cinnan party under Carbo and young Marius confronted Sulla, and to this the Samnites rallied. From Præneste, besieged by Sulla and which they had hoped to relieve, they marched on Rome. Sulla, on the news, hastened there also. A great battle was fought at the Colline Gate, the insurgent army was literally extirpated, and the Social War and the civil war were ended at a blow.

We may here close our survey of the Constitutional History of the Republic. The Republic henceforth existed only as a name.

A military monarchy ruled at Rome after the Battle of the Colline Gate, and all the principal causes which led to the monarchy have already been passed in review. Sulla patched up the old constitution it is true, but all the essential features of his institutions belonged in spirit or in letter to the past. Such were his measures, giving admission to the senate by the holding of a quæstorship, the abolition of the censor's power to eject a senator, the initiative given to the senate in legislation, the limitation of the tribune's power of veto by the imposition of a crushing fine for abuse of it, the prolongation of office from one to two years, and the transference of the imperium from the popularly elected magistrate to the senatorial proconsul or proprætor. Such also were the abolition of the corn-dole, the restoration to the senate of the judicial power, the abolition of the farming of taxes in Asia, and of the right of the equites to a separate place at festivals,—Gracchan institutions all of them, which it was the first business of the reactionist to obliterate. Such

pre-eminently were the provisions by which the first of the five property classes was given again, as in the old Servian arrangement, almost half of the whole number of votes in the comitia centuriata, and the tribunes were forbidden to propose any legislative measure till they had obtained the senate's sanction. Even his body-guard of 10,000 manumitted slaves and his system of military colonies were not novelties, though in the latter we must notice that his soldiers were not amalgamated with the previous citizens of the community to which they were sent, but remained a separate body, though associated within the same enclosing wall. It is also important to recollect that he firmly adhered to that political equality which the Italians had wrung from the reluctant Romans.

From freedmen alone he took away again the unrestricted franchise. His recognition of the necessity of acknowledging the Italian claims was of a piece with the enlargement of the frontier from the *Æsis* to the *Rubicon*, and the practical incorporation of the town Rome with the district Italy. For, whereas in Cisalpine Gaul the imperium was found indispensable, the region south of the *Rubicon* was henceforth subject to the ordinary authorities, and it became one of the fundamental maxims of Roman state-law that no troops or general should be stationed in that district.

Generally, we may say of Sulla's legislation that it was a futile attempt to recur to old forms, a restoration to an effete body of old powers which it was incompetent to wield. His constitution resembled a temporary dike thrown amid raging breakers. Reared in defiance of nature, it was swallowed up ten years later by the waves which it had been built to curb. Perhaps he hoped it might endure longer, for by making the senate a more

truly representative body, and at the same time adding to its power, he might have thought he had given it a fresh lease of life. But the body-guard, the standing army, and the precedent of absolutism, were in existence, and already the would-be sovereign was insulting Sulla to his face by comparisons between the rising and the setting sun. For something like half a century, the Empire's existence as a name was to be postponed ; but the Republic was already dead.

1-100 A.D.

Augustus. Arminius
Britannicus

Tiberius. Germanicus
of Christ

Caligula assassinated

Claudius. Governor
of Britain

Nero. Fire at Rome
the destruction of Christ

Galba murdered. Caligula

Vespasian Captured

Domitian. Second Italian War.
Curtius, Tacitus, Suetonius, Josephus, Ulpian

Nerva.

II

V. Maximus,
V. Paterculus,
A. Laberius

Other Authors.

Strabo (Geography),
Celsus (Medicine),
Mela (Geography).

Vitruvius (Architecture)

Columella (Gardening, &c.)

Petronius (Satirical Romance)

Pliny (Natural History).

Quintilian (Rhetoric),
Pliny Letters.

100-200.

Trajan. Conquest of
provinces.
Italy.

Hadrian surrenders
Christians

Antoninus Pius.

M. Aurelius. Barbarian

Commodus murdered.
the Emperor

Pertinax murdered.

Didius Julianus.

S. Severus. (Pesc

H.

Florus,
Plutarch,
(Gk.)

Arrian (Gk.)
Appian,
Aulus Gellius.

Dio Cassius,
Elian.

Herodian.

Other Authors.

Soranus (Medicine)
Ptolemy (Geography).

Galen (Medicine),
Gaius (Jurist),
Pausanias (Geography).

Papinian (Jurist)

1-100 A.D.		Ph.	P.	H.	Other Authors.
Augustus.	Arminius defeats Varus . Campaigns of Tiberius in Germany. The Drunken Briton.	The Provinces happy. The aristocracy at Rome kept down with an iron hand. The Julian Dynasty.	Phaedrus.	V. Maximus. V. Paternulus. A. Laeio.	Strabo (Geography). Celsus (Medicine). Mela (Geography).
Tiberius.	Germanicus' Campaigns in Germany. Sejanus. Tiberius at Capreae. Crucifixion of Christ.		Seneca. Lucan. Persius.	Q. Curtius. Tacitus. Suetonius. Josephus. (J.)	Vitruvius (Architecture).
Caligula	assassinated.				Columella (Gardening, &c.).
Claudius.	Government of freedmen. Caractacus brought to Rome. Claudius poisoned.				Petronius (Satirical Romance).
Nero.	Fire at Rome. Isle of Man conquered. Barbarians take the offensive. First persecution of Christians.		Epictetus.	Silvia-Italica. Juvenal. Martial. Statius.	Pliny (Natural History). Quintilian (Rhetoric). Pliny (Letters).
100-200.		Fatal effects of The Flavian Emperors Splendid Buildings.			
Vespasian	Capture of Jerusalem. Destruction of Herculaneum and Pompeii. The Colosseum. Baths of Titus.	The Flavian Emperors Splendid Buildings.	Ph.	P.	H.
Domitian.	Second persecution of Christians.		The Antonines.	Apuleius. Lucian. (Gk.)	Dio Cassius. Elian.
Nerva.					
Trajan.	Conquest of Dacia. Victories over Parthia. Armenia and Mesopotamia Roman provinces. Third Persecution of Christians. Trajan's Forum and Pillar. Arch of Titus.				
Hadrian	surrenders Trajan's Eastern conquests. Edictum Perpetuum. Fourth Persecution of Christians.				
Antoninus Pius.	The happiest period in history. Movement of the Goths westwards begins.				
M. Aurelius.	Barbarian irruptions on the Rhine. Great Plague.				
Commodus	murdered. Decline of the Empire begins.				
Pertinax	murdered.				
Didius Julianus.	Buys the Empire for a round sum of money.				
S. Severus, (Pescennius Niger. Albinus.)	The Empire rests on a more purely military basis.		Clemens. Tertullian.	Herodian.	Papinian (Jurist).

200-300.

Severus dies at York He "found the State everywhere troubled and left it at peace even in Britain."

Caracalla. Murdered. Fifth persecution of Christians.

Macrinus. (Diadumenus.) Murdered.

Heliozabalus. Murdered.

A. Severus. Murdered.

Maximu. Sixth Persecution of Christians The Gordians slain. Pupienus and

Balbinus, the Senate's Emperors, slain by the Praetorians.

Maximin murdered

Gordian (s) **Philip** The Secular Games celebrating the city's 1000th anniversary.

Decius. The **Ostrogoths** invade the Empire Decius slain. Seventh Persecution of Christians.

Gallus **Hostilius.** **Volusianus.** Pays tribute to the Goths.

Emilianus. Slain by **Valerian**, who repulses Germans and Goths and is captured by Persians. Eighth Persecution of Christians.

Gallienus. Franks ravage Gaul, Spain, Africa Alcmanni advance to Ravenna. Goths pillage

Moesa, Asia Minor, and Greece. Persians victorious in East.

Claudius. Repulses the Germans Defeats the Goths

Aurelian. Goths and Alcmanni driven back Zenobia taken prisoner France, Spain, and Britain reduced to obedience. **Dacia** abandoned. Ninth Persecution of Christians Aurelian murdered.

Tacitus. Dies in an expedition against the Goths

Probus. Defeats Germans, Goths, Persians. Builds wall between Danube and Rhine. Assassinated

Carus. (**Carinus.** **Numerianus.**) Defeats Goths Marches against Persians

Division of Government The East with an Emperor, **Diocletian**; and Caesar, **Galerius**.

Diocletian. The West with an Emperor, **Maximian**; and Caesar, **Constantius**

Diocletian takes Nicomedia as his capital. His splendid Court. Baths of Diocletian.

The Emperors chosen by the Army on the whole able and brave. Constant conflict with the Barbarians.

Ph.

H.

Other Authors.

Paulus (Jurist).

Ulpian (Jurist).

Longinus

Plotinus.

Justin.

300-400.

Teeth Persecution of Christians. Diocletian and Maximian abdicate.

Constantius Emperor of West, **Galerius** of East. Constantius dies. Constantine Caesar.

Maximian reappears and (**Maximian**) rule the West v. in the East. (**Galerius**).

Maximian deposed. Constantine conquers Maxentius at Saxa Rubra. (**Maximian**).

Galerius dies. Licinius conquers Maximian

Constantine. Byzantium the Capital, Christianity the Religion of the Empire

Four Prefectures

Italy.

Illyrium.

Gaul.

The East.

War between Constantine's sons Eleventh Persecution of Christians.

Constantine defeats Magnentius at Mursa.

Constantius. Sole Emperor. Julian defeats Franks and Alcmanni

Julian. Pagan Reaction. Twelfth Persecution of Christians Slain in Persia.

Jovian.

Valentinian. Energetic defence of Empire.

Valens. The Huns press the Goths. Valens provokes the Goths, who slay him at Adrianople.

Gratian. Slain by Maximus.

Valentinian II. (a child) assassinated.

Theodosius. Repulses Huns, makes peace with Persia, makes the Goths submit, conquers Maximus.

Arianism pronounced heresy.

Honorius the West. **Arcadius** the East.

F.

H.

Other Authors.

Scriptores

Historiae

Augustae.

The strength of the Empire wasted in intestine war.

Julian (Philosophy).

Ausonius.

Claudian.

Aurelius Victor

Eutropius.

Ammianus Mar

cellinus.

400-41

Stilicho defeated Alaric. Alaric sacks Rome.

Theodosius

Valentinian

Valentinian is murdered by Valentinian.

Maximus

Avitus and

Majorian

Severus

Anthemius

Olybrius

Glycerius

Nepos.

Romulus

Romania becomes Barbaria.
Puppet Emperors.

II.

Orosius
Zosimus.

400-476.

Stilicho defeats Alaric and Radagast. The Burgundians and **Vandals** pour into Gaul, the Vandals into Spain. Stilicho murdered. Alaric sacks Rome

Theodosius II. Pulcheria his sister really governs. Code of law.

Valentinian III. succeeds Honorius. Placidia his mother really governs.

Boniface revolts, calls in the Vandals to Africa, is defeated by Aëtius. Aëtius defeats Attila at **Châlons-sur-Marne** is murdered by Valentinian.

Maximus. Murdered. Genseric sacks Rome.

Avitus elevated by Visigoths. Theodoric, as General of the Empire, defeats the Suevi in Spain

Majorian elevated by Ricimer, defeats Theodoric, defeated by Genseric.

Severus elevated by Ricimer.

Anthemius elevated by Ricimer. Assassinated. Italy ravaged by Vandal Pirates

Olybrius elevated by Ricimer.

Glycerius elevated by Gundobald the Burgundian.

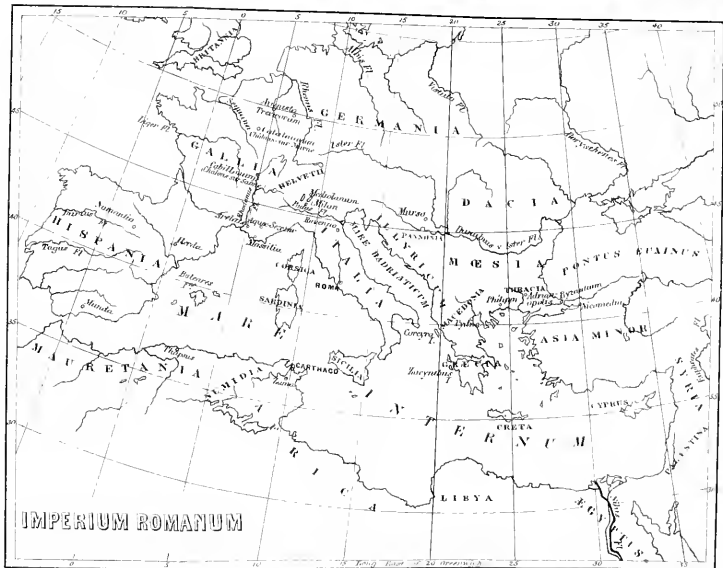
Nepos.

Romulus Augustulus deposed by Odoacer

Romanus becomes
Barbaric
Puppet Emperors

II.
Orosius
Zosimus.





CHAPTER IV.

Imperial Rome.

THERE are two diametrically opposite views held about the Roman Empire. The first and old one is, that it represented the old age of Rome, that is, was the corrupt, decrepit, old age of the strong, vigorous, and conquering republic. The second is, that it was the maturity of Rome; that Rome under the emperors attained the highest pitch of greatness, and that the rough fighting infancy of the republic entered now into a calm, strong, beneficent manhood. Each view is partly right. On the one hand, during the five centuries of the emperors there was a dearth of great men everywhere except on the throne, and the mass of civilized Europe seems to have degenerated; for when a people loses its self-reliance it must retrograde, and a period of years which is comparatively barren of great names or great results except the names and acts of emperors is sure to be a period of decay.

On the other hand, it is probable that the world has never been so happy as it was under the emperors, and that even under the worst emperors the provinces (in other words, the world) were devoted to the imperial system, while the emperors were hated by perhaps the

vilest of all the aristocracies of history—the remnant of the old nobles of Rome. Enormous material improvements were made in the provinces. Rome became, indeed, the centre of the world. We talk of going up or down as we are going to or from London. The same idea prevailed through all the world with regard to Rome.

Banishment from Roman territory was equivalent to sentence of death. Flee where he would the fugitive could not escape from the laws, and almost the language of Rome. For the emperors laboured hard to make the unity of the Roman world a real and not a nominal unity. In every town they raised magnificent buildings and splendid bridges, and the massive roads which they constructed then survive to our own day. On the whole, we may pronounce that, if the imperial government was not perfect, it was infinitely preferable to what the continued government of the republic would have been. Instead of being governed by a rapacious number of rulers, the world was subject to one ruler only, whose interest it was to keep down and punish the rapacity of the old nobility; and the tremendous responsibility pressing upon this one man's shoulders often roused him to a sense of duty which naturally perhaps he might not have felt, and moreover when it became possible to choose an emperor by election, the choice naturally fell upon the best man. It was better then to be ruled by one man, although he might be an absolute despot, than to be ruled by a great number of men who were practically even more irresponsible, and therefore more tyrannical and rapacious. So much of general observation as to the utility of imperial government.

Two great subjects, the history of the rise of Christianity, and the history of literature, must be left almost

unnoticed, but it is as well to be remembered that the golden period of Roman literature was at the close of the republican and at the beginning of the imperial system.

Cicero was one of the last of the great names of the republic. Virgil, Ovid, Tacitus, Catullus, Suetonius, Horace, all lived under the emperors. As for Christianity, it must be remembered that it was slowly but steadily spreading, that it was tolerated by some emperors, persecuted by others ; that very early in its history schisms arose among its members, and that when the barbarians finally overthrew the empire, they did so not as pagans but as Arian Christians, and that their conversion was not then from heathenism but to orthodox Christianity.

What we are specially concerned with is the political history of the Roman Empire. That history, dating from 31 B.C., ends in 476 A.D., in other words, from the Battle of Actium till the last puppet emperor was overthrown by the Herule Odoacer. This period of 500 years can conveniently be divided in various ways. We might take as the first period the emperors of the Julian house down to 68 A.D. ; as the second, those of the Flavian race from 69 to 192 A.D. ; as the third, that of the soldiers of fortune from 192 to 284 A.D. ; as the fourth, that of the colleagues, who divided the sovereignty from 284 to 323 A.D. ; and as the fifth, Constantine and his successors. This is a useful summary to remember, but at present we will take as our first period, roughly speaking, the first 200 years of the empire, the years of its strength, of its unity, when the barbarians on its frontiers were as yet cowed, and the provincials were as yet not ruined by over taxation, or with their best blood drained from them to sup-

port foreign wars. Without dates, then, let us call it the first 200 years of the empire.

In that period these emperors reigned in succession :—

- | | |
|---------------|----------------------|
| 1. Augustus. | 9. Vespasian. |
| 2. Tiberius. | 10. Titus. |
| 3. Caligula. | 11. Domitian. |
| 4. Claudius. | 12. Nerva. |
| 5. Nero. | 13. Trajan. |
| 6. Galba. | 14. Hadrian. |
| 7. Otho. | 15. Antoninus Pius. |
| 8. Vitellius. | 16. Marcus Aurelius. |

Under these emperors Rome realized what Persia and Athens had failed to do, what Macedon had partially succeeded in doing for the Eastern world, namely, in organizing almost all the habitable globe as it was then known under one government. These emperors played two great parts. *First they were the champions of the commons as opposed to the aristocracy.* The first great popular champions had been the Gracchi. To the Gracchi had succeeded Marius, and the traditions of the Marian party found a spokesman in Julius Cæsar, and it was for this reason that the emperors never called themselves kings. When we call them emperors we use a word which would for a long time, at least, have had no meaning, such as we attach to it. At Rome “Imperator” was the title given to a successful general by his soldiers on the field of battle, and it was a republican word, and did not in any degree represent the idea of absolute sovereignty which it denotes now.

It was the same with all their titles. Their policy was not to invent new titles or offices, but to concentrate in themselves the old republican titles and offices, and so, while holding the reins of power, in reality to keep up the

farce of being in name only the first men of the republic. For this reason the office they clung to most pertinaciously was "tribune of the people," which supposed them to be the champions of the plebs, and conferred upon them personal inviolability, as the name of Pontifex Maximus gave them the religious headship, and that of Imperator and Consul gave them the military headship of the state.

The second great part they played was that of *champions of the provinces against Rome*—not against Rome only, but against Italy. Some of them during their lifetime were worshipped as gods in the provinces, and even, according to the most republican of historians, Sismondi, it was a period of unparalleled prosperity in those provinces. And when we remember the horrible cruelties inflicted on the provinces by such republican governors as Verres, we must conclude that when the provincials deified the emperors the emperors must have used their authority well.

The result of this policy was that very soon the throne itself was filled by provincials. The last of the emperors furnished directly by Rome was Galba. The last of the Julian house was his predecessor Nero, and just as the empire passed from Rome with Galba so it passed from Italy with Nerva. Nerva himself was a Cretan. Trajan was a Spaniard. Antoninus Pius was a Gaul, and these truly great emperors fully justified the wisdom of the policy which had gradually accustomed the Romans to look upon their city not as the mistress but as the metropolis of the world.

In the sixteen emperors in our period some special characteristics are worthy of note. It was Augustus' business to remodel the government, to accustom the Romans to acquiesce in one man's concentrating in himself all offices.

Then Tiberius came, a stern and hardy soldier, past middle age when he succeeded to the throne. He has been handed down to us as a monster of vice. His vice is doubtful, and that he had many virtues we may gather even from the testimony of his enemies. His manhood was principally spent in hard fighting with the Germans on the Rhine frontier. It was in the reign of Augustus that Varus and two Roman legions had been massacred by the Germans, and it was in the reign of Tiberius that the German hero Arminius withstood the advance of the Roman arms.

Caligula was a madman. He signalized himself as a general by making his troops pick up shells on the shores of the English channel, and exhibiting them as the trophies of the conquest of Britain.

Claudius was the Roman James I., with his favourites as James had, and in his own contemptible peculiarities resembling James. Still it was in Claudius' reign that Britain, Thrace and Mauritania were added partially or wholly to the empire; and it was he who opened the senate to the nobles of part of Gaul. Nero, if not a madman, was something worse; but even Nero was detested only at Rome. The Romans looked upon him as a monster, but the provincials worshipped him as a god. Passing over Galba and Otho, we come to the bestial Vitellius, who is memorable chiefly as having been able to eat and drink more than any other man of his time. His gross visage gloats over his victims in the picture of *Gérôme*, "*Ave Cæsar, morituri te salutant.*"

Then came Vespasian, and a cloudless calm followed thirty years of waste and misrule. He restored the finances, repaired the ravages of the great fire at Rome in Nero's reign, reorganized the senate, and added to the

empire the provinces of Cilicia, Commagene, and lastly Palestine. It is the siege of Jerusalem and the history of Josephus which make this addition to the empire memorable.

Domitian's was a reign of terror at Rome. His cruelty was the cruelty of a coward, constantly trembling for his own life.

Nerva, though a good emperor, deserves admiration most for his choice of a successor, the great Trajan. A farseeing statesman, a great commander, a gallant soldier, Trajan was perhaps the greatest ruler after Julius Cæsar, certainly after Augustus. It was he who foresaw the deluge of barbarians which ere long broke in on the Roman frontier, and his plan to check it was not to contract the limits of the empire, not even to remain on the defensive, but boldly to extend the empire's limits, and by capturing and fortifying the district north of the Danube, called Dacia, to command Germany between it and the Rhine on three sides, the south, east and west.

Trajan died, and his successor Hadrian adopted his policy so far as to hold Dacia ; but in the East, where Trajan had pursued the same policy of pushing the empire on beyond the Euphrates, Hadrian paused, and declared that the Euphrates, as Augustus had thought fit, should be the boundary of the Roman world.

During the reign of his successor, Antoninus Pius, the world was at peace, enjoying more happiness, says the historian, than at any other known date.

Marcus Aurelius was as wise and virtuous as Antoninus, but in his reign a terrific pestilence, forerunner, possibly largely the cause, of the disaster which soon burst on the Roman empire, swept off, it is said, a majority of the inhabitants of Italy, and all along from Illyricum to Gaul

the barbarians arose, and marching southwards, reached North Italy. By desperate fighting Aurelius drove them back. But with that pestilence and with that inroad we associate the paling of the glory and the decline of the greatness of the imperial government. During this period the Roman army amounted to 375,000 men. The legions were posted on the frontiers in numbers proportionate to the number of the foes they had to check. Three were in Britain, and it was Agricola in Domitian's reign who concluded the subjugation of Britain. Five were along the Rhine to cope with the Germans between the Rhine and the Elbe. Eleven were on the Danube, extending as far as the Black Sea. Six in Syria. Two in Cappadocia, to protect the eastern frontier against the Persians. Egypt, Africa, and Spain, were peaceful provinces, and had each only one legion. At Rome the emperor maintained his authority by 20,000 men called Prætorians, his household troops.

It will be well to form some idea of the limits of the empire. On the north, the wall of the Picts in Britain, and coming lower, and stretching eastward, the Danube, the Rhine, the Black Sea. On the east itself, the country of Armenia, the Euphrates, and the Desert of Arabia. On the south the deserts of Lybia, and on the west the Atlantic Ocean. Thus we see the force which governed and the extent of country governed; and setting aside moments of frenzy, one may say that it was the object of these emperors as a body to leaven all this mighty conglomeration of races, languages, and religions with the civilization of Rome, to make all the inhabitants of that world as nearly equal as possible: and that they to a large extent succeeded is proved by the fact that the name of Roman emperor, and the idea of universal government,

and the majesty of a Cæsar, never, as we shall see by and by, lost their magic influence till a few generations ago.

Our second period extends from 180-324 A.D. Roughly speaking, we will call it the second century and a half of the empire. The first of these emperors was Commodus, the last was Constantine. With Commodus commences the decline of the Roman empire. He was the son of Aurelius, and he illustrated the rule to which there are but few exceptions, that those born to a throne are bad rulers and bad men.

Where an emperor chose his successor, not of his own blood, as a rule he chose the best man. Julius had adopted Augustus, Nero had adopted Trajan, Hadrian had adopted Antoninus, and Antoninus had adopted Aurelius. But now Aurelius left Commodus the crown simply because Commodus was his son. The consequence was a most degraded government, ending in the assassination of Commodus. Rome was turned into one vast arena during his reign. Lions, tigers, elephants, ostriches, and other kinds of wild animals, were brought to Rome by hundreds, in order that Commodus might display his strength and skill with a bow and arrow before the people. His successor Pertinax was murdered by the Prætorian guards, and those shameless janissaries sold the throne to Didius Julianus. But the Prætorians had gone too far. The people, the senate, the provinces, and the army flamed up with indignation. The Syrian legions, the British legions, the Illyrian legions, each put forth a candidate. Severus was the successful one. For eighteen years he ruled the Romans with a strong hand, checking all abuses in the provinces, restoring the finances, and remodelling the government. But this stern and fiery African sinned, just as the gentle Aurelius had sinned, and left his empire

to his sons, Caracalla and Geta. The wild tyrant Caracalla murdered his brother, and, unlike Caligula, Nero, Domitian, and Commodus, made the provinces the scene of his cruelty ; yet curiously enough he could not divest himself of those imperial traditions handed down by Augustus, chief of which was the equalization of the world with Rome.

It was in his reign that every free man of the empire was admitted to the Roman citizenship. But he and all the other emperors who succeeded Severus for fifty-seven years had nothing of greatness in them. Severus had made the monarchy a military monarchy ; and in these fifty-seven years the emperors were fortunate and unfortunate according to their popularity with the army. Three names may be remembered among them : first, Elagabalus, of wonderful beauty, and most vicious of all the emperors, who called himself the high-priest of the Sun, and was thus an idolator as well as a glutton, like Vitellius ; secondly, Valerian, who was defeated by the Persian king—an omen for the Roman empire—and died in captivity ; and lastly, Gallienus, who decreed that none of the senate should bear arms, who lost province after province of the empire, and was at once careless of its interests and recklessly brave. It is noticeable that during the reign of so many incompetent men, the mass of the empire clung to the legitimate possessor of the throne, and though men of superior ability were repeatedly made emperors in the provinces, they were treated as usurpers, and the unworthy occupant of the throne as the true emperor. With the death of Gallienus the scene changes. The soldiery had seen one emperor a prisoner ; they had seen another losing province after province ; they were full of apprehension and dismay, and so they chose out of

their own ranks men capable of fighting their battles. It was high time. The Goths were knocking at the gates of the empire. Three hundred thousand men were defeated by Claudius in a great battle, and he named the great Aurelian his successor. Aurelian restored the Roman world to its ancient limits. He was victorious on every frontier. It was he who led captive Zenobia, Queen of Palmyra.

Aurelian was murdered by his secretary, and Tacitus, who succeeded him, reigned but a short time, being murdered by his soldiers. Another champion of Rome against the barbarians succeeded Tacitus, named Probus, who, after six years of uninterrupted war, was able to say that the empire would soon do without an army. That saying was his death-warrant. In a mutiny, hastily and bitterly repented, Probus was slain. Three more emperors followed in the three next years, and then we come to Diocletian.

It was just thirty-three years since the death of Galienus when Diocletian entered upon his reign. These rough soldier emperors whom we have just enumerated had done their work resolutely, and when one after another had met a death of violence, his successor had boldly stepped into his place. They had been like lion-tamers, cowing the savage beasts around them thoroughly for a time, and, though they fell finally before them, were fully masters of them up to the last. But their fate was a warning, and Diocletian knew that the task of government was beyond the capacity of any single man. Therefore he chose a colleague, and also made his colleague choose a successor, each of whom was to have the title of Cæsar, so that there would be four rulers instead of one for the empire. Thus, when the elder emperors retired, the two Cæsars might step into their places and choose other Cæsars to fill up their own. Diocletian chose the

Eastern as his province, and out of policy assumed Eastern manners. The Illyrian peasant was seen in the diadem and robe of an Oriental king. He permitted himself to be treated as an Eastern despot and worshipped as a god. But it was not from any intoxication of power that he did this, but from policy, and on a memorable day, as Sulla had done before him and Charles V. did after him, he proved his strength of mind by abdicating the government and retiring into private life, hoping thus to bring his scheme for the succession of the Cæsars into practical working. He did not succeed; his colleague Maximian, whom he had persuaded to abdicate with him, soon tried to resume his power, and the empire was torn by civil war.

First there were four, then six, then two emperors at once, then a final struggle between these two, and once more the empire was reunited under Constantine. The reign of Constantine marks an era in the world's history. In it Christianity was adopted as the religion of the empire; in it Byzantium was adopted as the capital. After a struggle similar to that of Severus, Constantine found himself in the same position as Severus; he had to remodel the government and to repair the melancholy waste of the civil war. He found different enemies on the frontiers from those who had threatened his predecessor. It was no longer the Parthian that was to be feared, but the Parthian successor, the Persian; it was no longer the German that was to be feared, but the Goth behind the German, and the Scythian and the Hun behind the Goth. Diocletian had seen this too, and therefore had chosen Nicomedia for his capital. Wiser than Diocletian, Constantine had chosen Byzantium. That wonderful central site seemed made for the seat of an empire which included the two continents of Asia and Europe.

Even in Italy the Eternal City had lost much of its importance. The seat of government had been for some time at Milan, not Rome, and then it had been transferred now to Paris, now to Trêves, now to Arles. But though the seat of government might not be Rome it was none the less Roman. Indeed, one of the most striking features in Roman history is the way in which not only Roman manners, the Roman language, and Roman law became the manners, language, and law of the civilized world, but the very town itself, with its basilicas, theatres, and baths, was as it were reproduced and multiplied in the provinces. At Byzantium, Constantine, throwing away part of Diocletian's system, retained and developed another part of it. He would have no colleague, but he soon adopted Cæsars, and he kept up all and more than all the ceremonial of Diocletian, the diadem, the silken robes, and the elaborate system of body-guards, chamberlains, treasurers, and eunuchs. The titles of the court were as numerous and as meaningless as those to be found in our own Court Almanac.

Under the preceding emperors, and under the republic, provincial governors had held both military and civil power, had been practically absolute during their term of office, and only punishable during the republic at the close of their period of office, and under the emperors only by their direct interposition. Now this was a source of danger to an emperor, because it gave opportunity for rebellion to any aspiring provincial governor who had his army and the resources of a vast province at his disposal. So Constantine divided the power. The military power was placed in the hands of "masters-general of cavalry and infantry," whose number varied with the varying divisions of the empire, being sometimes two,

sometimes eight. Under them were counts and dukes of the empire. The civil power was entrusted to four prefects, and under the prefects were proconsuls, consulars, presidents, correctors. This was Constantine's system of government—an elaborate arrangement of grades of rank both in the palace, with its chamberlains, &c., and in the camp and in the state. This division of powers must be viewed in two ways: first, it was to secure the emperor from rivalry, and in this it was on the whole successful; secondly, it was to secure the empire against the barbarians, and here to divide the power was to weaken it. The army was increased from 450,000 to 645,000 men; and with the same object of securing the emperor against a revolt, the legions, while increased in number, were diminished in size, so as to be less capable of acting in concert. Thus Constantine reorganized the empire. Meanwhile the Goths had been keenly watching his struggle with his competitors, feeling that exhaustion must be the result, and that exhaustion would be the hour for them. But Constantine met them on the Lower Danube, defeated them in their own country, Sarmatia, then granted them a peace, and left such an abiding impress of his power on their minds, that not until the Huns pushed them onwards did they dare again to face the arms of Rome. Next he turned to fight the Persians, who were ravaging Mesopotamia, but in the midst of his preparations he died.

It is now time, that the first Christian emperor is dead, to glance at the progress of Christianity. The empire was three and a half centuries old, Christianity a few years younger. For the first hundred years of the empire it is almost unnoticed. At the beginning of the second hundred years it was treated as an attack upon the em-

pire ; for the emperors were priests as well as emperors, spiritually as well as temporally at the head of the nation. Christianity, as acknowledging another spiritual head than the emperor, was treated as treason to the government, and as such, and not because it was a new religion, was persecuted. At the close of the second century, and during the first half of the third, it had spread rapidly, and occupied a more favourable position. It had had friends at the court of Commodus, and the African and Syrian emperors were rather for it than against it. In the chapel of Alexander Severus, the busts of Abraham and Christ were placed side by side with those of Orpheus and Apollonius. As the empire began to decay, as old things were felt to be breaking, as civil power grew weaker, as the dread of the barbarians grew stronger, as scorn of the old pagan myths grew deeper, men turned with hope to the only religion which spoke of hope, and promised, though mystically yet confidently, some firm standing ground where all around was insecure. But Christianity was a religion of peace. The empire must be guarded by the sword. Non-resistance was no fit doctrine for men who looked forward to a death struggle with uncivilized foes all along their frontiers. So here again the emperors persecuted Christianity, not from bigotry but from policy. Trajan had viewed it as one more hostile influence to his task of reconsolidating the empire internally, and dealt with it as mildly as he could. Decius, Maximian, and Galerius treated Christians as they would the ringleaders of a mutiny, speedily and mercilessly. It was useless. Christianity grew and grew, and could not be extirpated. So Constantine adopted it. Frankly he accepted what he could not avoid. He abandoned the dying Paganism ; he put himself at the head of conquering Christianity ;

but he took good care still to retain in his own hands the spiritual power. His policy was wise. In gratitude at its release from persecution the Christian Church was for the present willing to give an unquestioning submission to the civil power. As yet it had no conception of that vast omnipotent position afterwards claimed for it by the Popes.

At Constantine's death, which we take as the beginning of our third period, the Roman world found itself under five masters. Civil war again broke out. The frightfully destructive battle of Mursa, in Pannonia, in which the blood and strength of Rome, now so precious, was shed like water, reunited the empire once more under Constantius. He sent Julian to clear Gaul of the barbarians, who swept them over the Rhine, and followed them to their own country. Jealous of his ability, Constantius tried to deprive him of his army, but Julian's troops forced him to accept the purple, and Constantius was carried off by a fever heightened by his anger. Julian instantly hastened to Persia, rashly risked his person and his army, and lost his life. But it is not as a warrior—it is not as a general—that Julian is famous. Julian the ruler is lost in Julian the Apostate. He tried to restore Paganism, and persecuted Christianity. To him Christianity seemed really a monstrous heresy. He alone of all the emperors hated it as a religion with a bigot's hatred. In failing to discern the signs of the times, that Paganism belonged to the past and that Christianity was the inevitable religion of the future, Julian shewed himself no statesman. Yet it would be a mistake to regard him as ecclesiastical historians do. He was simply a conservative, imagining that the new religion Christianity would prove destructive to the empire, and not more obstinate in defending Paganism than the men who clung to the old calen-

dar, or the men who have clung to many other established institutions in later times. Another sort of emperor succeeded him, Valentinian, a soldier more than a statesman, subject to fits of frenzy, like those of our Plantagenet kings; a Christian, but recognizing the fact that it was not his business to meddle with the disputes of priests. All along the Rhine and Danube, in Africa and in Britain, barbarians menaced the empire. By his lieutenants he quieted Africa and Britain, and in person defeated the Burgundians and Saxons. In a fit of passion he broke a blood vessel and died, after a reign of twelve years, but he left the empire as yet intact, and had shewn himself worthy of the throne. Gratian succeeded in the West, Valens in the East. The following years were memorable. The Huns were pressing on the Goths between the Vistula and Danube. The Goths demanded an entrance into the Roman empire. Valens had several courses of action between which to choose. He might have frankly admitted them, and so have placed a brave and warlike nation in the vanguard against the Huns, thus anticipating by half a century on the banks of the Pruth that great battle which had to be fought against Attila on the field of Châlons-sur-Marne; or he might have refused them admittance and left them to perish before the Huns; or he might have distributed them in batches through the empire. He did neither; he struck a miserable bargain, left them their arms, but took everything else, goaded them by his folly into action, and lost his throne and his life in the battle of Adrianople. By Valens' death Gratian was left sole emperor. From Spain, the country of Trajan and Hadrian, he summoned one worthy of Trajan, Theodosius. Gratian was soon after murdered. Theodosius became sole emperor, repulsed the Huns, and kept the

Goths in good humour by subsidies. It was not his fault that he adopted so degraded a means of defence. He was the last great emperor of the West. He died, leaving the empire peaceful in the East and West, and of all the Roman emperors he and Constantine alone received the title of Great. But it must strike any one reading history for the first time with wonder that such an emperor as Trajan should not be considered worthy of a title given to the subsidizer Theodosius.

The fact is that the name was given him by the monks. Christianity, persecuted by Julian, tolerated by Valentinian, became orthodox, became dominant, became persecuting under Theodosius. The heresy Arianism was suppressed, and the unity of Christianity re-established. The monk Ambrose rebuked the emperor. Theodosius submitted to the rebuke. True or not, the story is typical of the new, spiritual, mental, and moral empire that was to arise in lieu of the temporal, material empire that was about to pass. Our first period treated of the rise of the empire, our second and third of its decline, our fourth will treat of its fall.

We have considered the emperor, the senate, the army, the organization of the government, and the relation of the governing to the governed, the relations too between the spiritual and temporal power, between the government and the Christian Church, and lastly, the alternations of success and failure in the defence of the empire. Two great subjects are still left for consideration, 1st, the state of society, the internal state of the empire; 2d, the barbarians, the external foes of the empire. Now the Roman empire was a system of towns, of municipalities formed on the model of Rome, and the power lay not, as in mediæval times, with scattered posses-

sors of fiefs in the country, but with the towns. The country was cultivated by slaves, and the proprietors were gathered into the towns. Therefore, speaking roughly, and allowing for the gradual change towards the mediæval system, there were only two classes, the rich and noble on the one side, on the other the great poor mass, slaves in the country—paupers in the towns. There was no middle class. This is roughly speaking it must be remembered, because gradually all this time slaves were becoming serfs, and because an industrial class was springing up in the towns; but the broad feature of the Roman system was the absence of a middle class. From the state of the empire within we turn to the nations without. The border tribes on the African frontier are too unimportant to be remembered. The Asiatic frontier we may divide into the Arabian and Persian, the Arabian comprising the Saracens of the desert between Syria and the Euphrates, as well as the Arabs of Arabia proper, and the Persians situated between the Euphrates and Indus. These again are comparatively unimportant, because the Persians could not wish to extend their power west of the Euphrates. It was on the European frontier that real damage from the barbarians threatened Rome. The term “barbarians” requires some explanation. It is of course relative. In the mouth of a genuine Greek we know its meaning—every one who was not a Greek. In the mouth of a Roman any country not within the limits of Roman civilization was barbarous, and its people barbarians. Thus the supercilious Roman would look on the wanderer of the desert and the subject of the organized monarchy of Parthia in the same light, and call them by the same name. As time went on this comprehensive use of the term ceased, and by “barbarians” we practically mean the

German tribes, and the inhabitants of countries east of Germany. Now, in the time of Julius Cæsar the Gauls were called the barbarians, and we know from Cæsar that they had regular government, acted in concert, produced great and formidable armies, and a great captain like Ver-
cingetorix. We conclude, therefore, that they were not barbarians proper. So it was with the barbarians now. Those on the exact frontier of the empire had been influenced by the empire, those behind them were less civilized, and so on. The Visigoths were far more civilized than the Huns. It was more like the difference between Austrian and Italian than like the difference between Cossack and Frenchman in the present century. Such were the barbarians, in full vigour, in growing numbers, urged on from behind, eager to seize the fruit of long established order, not putting forward an army to fight for them, but themselves their own army, though inferior in discipline and arms, and cowed as yet by long memories of Roman prowess and by the majesty of the Roman name. But now the hour was come when that great name was to lose its potency, and in these last eighty years we have to consider we find them ever and everywhere becoming more and more conscious of the real weakness of the imperial government, till they finally overthrew it. In these last eighty years we confine ourselves exclusively to the empire of the West. All through its history the Roman system was a dual one. The Eastern conquests of Alexander had been incorporated with the Western dominion of the republic, and over and over again the marked difference between the East and West had cropped out. For instance, when Augustus and Antony divided the world between them, Augustus took the West and Antony the East. When the sons of Seve-

rus, Geta and Caracalla, proposed to divide the world it was on the same system. The basis of Diocletian's system had been the acknowledgment of this discrepancy between the two parts of his empire, and it had reappeared under Constantius, in the appointments of Gallus and of Julian, and in the arrangements of Valens and Valentinian, of Gratian and Theodosius. And now, at the end of the fourth century, Theodosius was dead, and his son Arcadius succeeded to the Eastern throne, Honorius to the Western. The Western empire was to last eighty years longer, the Eastern was to linger out another thousand years, till it was overthrown by the all-conquering sword of the Ottomans, differing in language, in national feeling, in religion, and in all social respects from the West, but claiming dominion over it as inheritor of the traditions of Rome and Roman law. Turning then to the Western empire we mark four points of interest—

1. The emperors nominally chiefs of the empire.
2. The great men, its real defenders.
3. The chiefs of the assailing tribes.
4. The gradual tearing away of province by province from the empire, ending as it did in the extinction of the name and the occupation of the throne by a barbaric chief, the change in short of Romania into Barbaria.

The first point is the easiest. With one exception, Majorian, these emperors were phantoms or puppets. Whatever interest there is in the court centres round Placidia, the wife, the mother and the sister of emperors, and the wife also of the Visigoth conqueror Ataulph. Secondly, as to the real defenders of the empire. From 400 to 450 there were three, Stilicho, Alaric's opponent; Boniface, first the ally then the opponent of the Vandals; thirdly,

Aëtius, who confronted Attila, and from 450-475, Ricimer and Odoacér. Stilicho was a Vandal in the service of Theodosius, and appointed by him guardian of the Emperor Honorius. The poet Claudian has represented him in heroic colours as the last great genius of Rome. Whether he was ambitious or whether he was simply a patriot we do not know. What we do know is that he defeated again and again the terrible Alaric, that he defeated Radogast, and that by his death Rome lost its greatest champion and the Visigoths their most dangerous enemy. Boniface was by birth a Roman Christian of heroic bravery. His rival Aëtius drove him into revolt against the empire, and he called the Vandals from Spain into his province of Africa where he was proconsul. Repenting too late, he in vain tried to lay the spirit he had evoked. The Vandals wrested Africa from the empire. He returned to the court, was made general-in-chief of the Roman army, and met Aëtius, in his turn a rebel, by whom he was defeated and slain. His last words were to recommend Aëtius as his successor. On the death of Honorius, Aëtius had supported a pretender to the throne called John, and fetched a body of Huns to support his claims. Just as he re-entered Italy John died, Aëtius made terms with Placidia the empress, and was appointed to the command in Gaul. It was fortunate for the world that just at that moment and just in that place, this man, a mixture of suppleness and impetuosity, of duplicity and daring, happened to be posted where one of the greatest dangers that ever menaced civilization burst upon Western Europe. On the river Marne, the field of Châlons, Aëtius, with his ally Theodoric, the king of the Visigoths in Southern France, confronted the Huns under Attila,

Attila, who had never met a foe who could withstand him, who styled himself King of Kings and the Scourge of God, and boasted, not idly, that the grass never grew where his horse trod. It was one of the great battles of the world, a really decisive battle, not a battle between two generals, or even between two nations, so much as a conflict between civilization and barbarism, in which civilization luckily for us won, though hardly won, the day. Ricimer was one of the barbarian defenders of the empire. He made his creatures emperors one after the other, preferring to be himself a "mayor of the palace." Odoacer succeeded to his position, but he was sick of the fiction of an emperor, and setting aside the puppet-emperor Augustulus (it is not without significance that the first emperor was called Augustus and the last Augustulus) sent the insignia of royalty to the emperor of the East at Constantinople, and made the senate of Rome acknowledge that the visible power had passed for ever from the Eternal City. The crowning attempt at universal government (an attempt feebly foreshadowed in the East by Persia, in the West by Athens, and partially realized by the gigantic but premature enterprise of Alexander) had finally failed. Never again were men to gaze on the spectacle of one town the mistress of all nations, of countless myriads the slaves of a slavish senate, of a world prostrate before a single throne. But though the last and greatest experiment in government had failed, the memory of the blessings it had diffused remained vivid in men's minds. It was no mean legacy to leave this grand tradition of the happiness of order, which all the chaos and anarchy of the coming centuries could not obliterate. It lived as a tradition among the sons of those who had en-

joyed it, and it was embodied with undying force in that code which was to be the basis of almost all modern law. It was but natural that as each barbarian conqueror of superior capacity became imbued with the spirit of civilization which still lingered round this legal centre and in the intelligence of the clergy, he should become fired with the ambition of reuniting the shattered empire under his sceptre, and resuscitating that firm, strong government the loss of which was so keenly felt. And however fierce and unimaginative his spirit, there was something even in the national relics of the empire which must have had an imposing effect on the least susceptible mind. As Alaric and Attila marched on Rome the very stones of the roads on which they trod must have cried aloud to them of the contrast between their victims' humane munificence and their own desolating career. Even when at last a man was found bold enough to tear down with sacrilegious hand the emblem of such august associations, he was reduced to mimic the title and use the institutions of the government which he destroyed. Odoacer only substituted the regal for the imperial title, and imitated as far as he could the old régime. The same may be said of Theodoric and, in France, of Clovis. There was in fact no other system to take as a model, and there was still before men's eyes the surviving Eastern empire to keep alive the old faith in imperial institutions. The moral force of the empire remained omnipotent long after its active existence was at an end. Mentally it still enthralled all men of intelligence by laws which they could not improve—materially it had graven itself upon the earth in characters only to be effaced by time. How vital was the idea of Roman Imperialism, how powerful a part it was

to play during the Middle Ages, how it was to survive almost to our own age as a discernible force in European politics, every student of history knows. Shorn of all actual strength, Rome, as the well-head of the emperor's dignity and the centre of religion, was still for many centuries to come to remain the metropolis of the world.



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